1607/5553.

THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL JAMES GARDINER,

Who was Slain at

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS,

SEPTEMBER 21. 1745.

Mrs Ellett
Coslehope

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN

THE LIFE

OF THE HONOURABLE

COLONEL JAMES GARDINER,

Who was Slain at

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS,

SEPTEMBER 21. 1745.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

RELATING TO

THE ANCIENT FAMILY

OF

THE MUNROES OF FOWLIS.

BY P. DODDRIDGE, D. D.

———————Justior alter
Nec Pietate fuit, nec Bello major et Armis. VIRG.

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1794.

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NOV

TO

DAVID GARDINER, Esq.

CORNET IN SIR JOHN COPE's REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

DEAR SIR,

WHILE my heart is following you, with a truly paternal ſolicitude, through all the dangers of military life, in which you are thus early engaged, anxious for your ſafety amidſt the inſtruments of death, and the far more dangerous allurements of vice, I feel a peculiar pleaſure in being able at length, though after ſuch long delays, to put into your hands the memoirs with which I now preſent you. They contain many particulars, which would have been worthy of your attentive notice, had they related to a perſon of the moſt diſtant nation or age: But they will, I doubt not, command your peculiar regard, as they are ſacred to the memory of that excellent man, from whom you had the honour

to derive your birth, and by whoſe generous and affectionate care you have been laid under all the obligations which the beſt of fathers could confer on a moſt beloved ſon.

Here, Sir, you ſee a gentleman, who, with all the advantages of a liberal and religious education, added to every natural accompliſhment that could render him moſt agreeable, entered, before he had attained the ſtature of a man, on thoſe arduous and generous ſervices to which you are devoted, and behaved in them with a gallantry and courage, which will always give a ſplendour to his name among the Britiſh ſoldiery, and render him an example to all officers of his rank. But, alas! amidſt all the intrepidity of the martial Hero, you ſee him vanquiſhed by the blandiſhments of pleaſure, and, in chace of it, plunging himſelf into follies and vices, for which no want of education or genius could have been a ſufficient excuſe. You behold him urging the ignoble and fatal

purſuit, unmoved by the terrors which death was continually darting around him, and the moſt ſignal deliverances by which providence again and again reſcued him from thoſe terrors, till at length he was reclaimed by an ever-memorable interpoſition of divine grace. Then you have the pleaſure of ſeeing him become, in good earneſt, a convert to Chriſtianity, and, by ſpeedy advances, growing up into one of its brighteſt ornaments; his mind continually filled with the great ideas which the goſpel of our Redeemer ſuggeſts, and bringing the bleſſed influence of its ſublime principles into every relation of military and civil, of public and domeſtic life. You trace him perſevering in a ſteady and uniform courſe of goodneſs, through a long ſeries of honourable and proſperous years, the delight of all that were ſo happy as to know him, and, in his ſphere, the moſt faithful guardian of his country; till at laſt, worn out with honourable labours, and broken with infirmities which they had haſtened upon him before the time,

you ſee him forgetting them at once, at the call of duty and providence; with all the generous ardour of his moſt vigorous days ruſhing on the enemies of religion and liberty, ſuſtaining their ſhock with the moſt deliberate fortitude, when deſerted by thoſe that ſhould have ſupported him, and cheerfully ſacrificing the little remains of a mortal life in the triumphant views of a glorious immortality.

This, Sir, is the noble object I preſent to your view; and you will, I hope, fix your eye continually upon it, and will never allow yourſelf for one day to forget, that this illuſtrious man is *Colonel Gardiner*, your ever honoured father; who, having approved his *fidelity to the death*, and received *a crown of life*, ſeems as it were, by what you here read, to be calling out to you from amidſt *the cloud of witneſſes* with which you are ſurrounded, and urging you, by every generous, tender, filial ſentiment, to mark the footſteps of his Chriſtian race, and ſtrenuouſly to maintain that combat, where the

victory is through divine grace certain, and the prize an eternal kingdom in the heavens.

The laſt number of the Appendix introduces a moſt worthy triumvirate of your father's friends, following him through the ſame heroic path, to an end like his; and with pleaſure pouring forth their lives in blood, for the reſcue and preſervation of their dearer country. And I truſt, the eloquence of their examples will be prevalent with many, to emulate the many virtues for which they were conſpicuous.

My hopes, Sir, that all theſe powerful motives will eſpecially have their full efficacy on You, are greatly encouraged by the certainty which I have of your being well acquainted with the evidence of Chriſtianity in its full extent; a criminal ignorance of which, in the midſt of great advantages for learning them, leaves ſo many of our young people a prey to Deiſm, and ſo to vice and ruin, which

generally bring up its rear. My life would be a continual burthen to me, if I had not a conſciouſneſs in the ſight of God, that during the years in which the important truſt of your education was committed to my care, I had laid before you the proofs both of natural and revealed religion, in what I aſſuredly eſteem to be, with regard to the judgment, if they are carefully examined, an irreſiſtible light; and that I had endeavoured to attend them with thoſe addreſſes which might be moſt likely to impreſs your heart. You have not, dear Sir, forgotten, and I am confident you can never entirely forget, the aſſiduity with which I have laboured to form your mind, not only to what might be ornamental to you in human life, but, above all, to a true taſte of what is really excellent, and an early contempt of thoſe vanities by which the generality of our youth, eſpecially in your ſtation, are debaſed, enervated, and undone. My private, as well as public addreſſes for this purpoſe, will, I know, be remembered by you, and the tears of tenderneſs

with which they have ſo often been accompanied: And may they be ſo remembered, that they who are moſt tenderly concerned, may be comforted under the loſs of ſuch an ineſtimable friend as Colonel Gardiner, by ſeeing that his character, in all its moſt amiable and reſplendent parts, lives in you; and that, how difficult ſoever it may be to act up to that height of expectation, with which the eyes of the world will be fixed on the ſon of ſuch a father, you are, in the ſtrength of divine grace, attempting it; at leaſt are following him with generous emulation and with daily ſolicitude, that the ſteps may be leſs unequal!

May the Lord God of your father, and I will add, of both your pious and honourable parents, animate your heart more and more with ſuch views and ſentiments as theſe! May he guard your life amidſt every ſcene of danger, to be a protection and bleſſing to thoſe that are yet unborn; and may he give you, in ſome far diſtant period of time, to reſign it by a gentler diſſolution than the hero

from whom you ſprung; or, if unerring Wiſdom appoint otherwiſe, to end it with equal glory!

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your ever faithful,

Affectionate Friend, and

Obliged humble Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

NORTHAMPTON,
July 1. 1747.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

LIFE

OF THE HONOURABLE

COLONEL JAMES GARDINER.

§ 1. WHEN I promiſed the public ſome larger account of the life and character of this illuſtrious perſon than I could conveniently inſert in my ſermon on the ſad occaſion of his death, I was ſecure, that if providence continued my capacity of writing, I ſhould not wholly diſſappoint the expectation: For I was furniſhed with a variety of particulars, which appeared to me worthy of general notice, in conſequence of that intimate friendſhip with which he had honoured me during the ſix laſt years of his life; a friendſhip which led him to open his heart to me in repeated converſations, with an unbounded confidence,

(as he then aſſured me, beyond what he had with any other man living), ſo far as religious experiences were concerned; and I had alſo received ſeveral very valuable letters from him, during the time of our abſence from each other, which contained moſt genuine and edifying traces of his Chriſtian character. But I hoped farther to learn many valuable particulars from the papers of his own cloſet, and from his letters to other friends, as well as from what they more circumſtantially knew concerning him: I therefore determined to delay the execution of my promiſe till I could enjoy theſe advantages, for performing it in the moſt ſatisfactory manner; nor have I, on the whole, reaſon to regret that determination.

§ 2. I ſhall not trouble the reader with all the cauſes which concurred to retard theſe expected aſſiſtances for almoſt a whole year; the chief of them were, the tedious languiſhing illneſs of his afflicted lady, through whoſe hands it was proper the papers ſhould paſs; together with the confuſion into which the rebels had thrown them, when they ranſacked his ſeat at Bankton, where moſt of them were depoſited. But having now received ſuch of them as have eſcaped their voracious hands, and could conveniently be collected and tranſ-

mitted, I ſet myſelf with the greateſt pleaſure to perform what I eſteem not merely a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my invaluable friend, (though never was the memory of any mortal man more precious and ſacred to me), but out of duty to God, and to my fellow-creatures; for I have a moſt cheerful hope, that the narrative I am now to write, will, under the divine bleſſing, be a means of ſpreading what of all things in the world every benevolent heart will moſt deſire to ſpread, a warm and lively ſenſe of religion.

§ 3. My own heart has been ſo much edified and animated by what I have read in the memoirs of perſons who have been eminent for wiſdom and piety, that I cannot but wiſh the treaſure may be more and more increaſed: and I would hope the world may gather the like valuable fruits from the life I am now attempting; not only as it will contain very ſingular circumſtances, which may excite a general curioſity, but as it comes attended with ſome other particular advantages.

§ 4. The reader is here to ſurvey a character of ſuch eminent and various goodneſs, as might demand veneration, and inſpire him with a deſire to imitate it too, had it appeared in the obſcureſt rank; but it will ſurely

command ſome peculiar regard, when viewed in ſo elevated and important a ſtation, eſpecially as it ſhone, not in eccleſiaſtical, but *military* life, where the temptations are ſo many, and the prevalency of the contrary character ſo great, that it may ſeem no inconſiderable praiſe and felicity to be free from diſſolute vice, and to retain what in moſt other profeſſions might be eſteemed only a mediocrity of virtue. It may ſurely, with the higheſt juſtice, be expected, that the title and bravery of Colonel Gardiner will invite many of our officers and ſoldiers, to whom his name has been long honourable and dear, to peruſe this account of him with ſome peculiar attention: In conſequence of which, it may be a means of increaſing the number and brightening the character of thoſe who are already adorning their office, their country, and their religion; and of reclaiming thoſe who will ſee rather what they ought to be, than what they are. On the whole, to the gentlemen of the ſword, I would particularly offer theſe memoirs, as theirs by ſo diſtinguiſhed a title; yet I am firmly perſuaded there are none whoſe office is ſo ſacred, or whoſe proficiency in the religious life is ſo advanced, but they may find ſomething to demand their thankfulneſs, and to awaken their emulation.

§ 5. Colonel James Gardiner, of whom we write, was the ſon of Captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-head, by Mrs Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladſmuir. The captain, who was maſter of a handſome eſtate, ſerved many years in the army of King William and Queen Anne, and died abroad with the Britiſh forces in Germany, ſoon after the battle of Hochſtedt, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by Colonel Hodge, his valiant brother-in-law, who was ſlain at the head of that regiment, (my memorial from Scotland ſays), at the battle of Steenkirk, which was fought in the year 1692.

§ 6. Mrs Gardiner, our Colonel's mother, was a lady of a very valuable character, but it pleaſed God to exerciſe her with very uncommon trials; for ſhe not only loſt her huſband and her brother in the ſervice of their country, as before related, but alſo her eldeſt ſon, Mr Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the ſiege of Namur in 1695. But there is great reaſon to believe God bleſſed theſe various and heavy afflictions as the means of forming her to that eminent degree of piety, which will

render her memory honourable as long as it continues.

§ 7. Her ſecond ſon, the worthy perſon of whom I am now to give a more particular account, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowſhire, on the 10th of January, A. D. 1687-8, the memorable year of that glorious Revolution which he juſtly eſteemed among the happieſt of all events; ſo that, when he was ſlain in the defence of thoſe liberties which God then, by ſo gracious a providence, reſcued from utter deſtruction, i. e. on the 21ſt of September 1745, he was aged fifty-ſeven years, eight months, and eleven days.

§ 8. The annual return of his birth-day was obſerved by him, in the later and better years of his life, in a manner very different from what is commonly practiſed; for inſtead of making it a day of feſtivity, I am told, he rather diſtinguiſhed it as a ſeaſon of more than ordinary humiliation before God; both in commemoration of thoſe mercies which he received in the firſt opening of life, and under an effectionate ſenſe, as well as of his long alienation from the Great Author and ſupport of his being, and of the many imperfections which he lamented in the beſt of his days and ſervices.

§ 9. I have not met with many things remarkable concerning the early years of his life, only that his mother took care to inſtruct him with great tenderneſs and affection in the principles of true Chriſtianity. He was alſo trained up in human literature at the ſchool at Linlithgow, where he made a very conſiderable progreſs in the languages. I remember to have heard him quote ſome paſſages of the Latin claſſics very pertinently; though his employment in life, and the various turns which his mind took under different impulſes in ſucceeding years, prevented him from cultivating ſuch ſtudies.

§ 10. The good effects of his mother's prudent and examplary care were not ſo conſpicuous as ſhe wiſhed and hoped in the younger part of her ſon's life; yet there is great reaſon to believe they were not entirely loſt. As they were probably the occaſion of many convictions, which in his younger years were overborne; ſo I doubt not, that when religious impreſſions took that ſtrong hold of his heart, which they afterwards did, that ſtock of knowledge which had been ſo early laid up in his mind was found of conſiderable ſervice. And I have heard them make the obſervation, as an encouragement to parents and other pious

friends, to do their duty, and to hope for thoſe good conſequences of it which may not immediately appear.

§ 11. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, (of whoſe good inſtructions and exhortations I have often heard him ſpeak with pleaſure), have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life; from which it is no wonder theſe ladies endeavoured to diſſuade him, conſidering the mournful experience they had of the dangers attending it, and the dear relatives they had loſt already by it. But it ſuited his taſte; and the ardour of his ſpirit, animated by the perſuaſions of a friend, who greatly urged it*, was not to be reſtrained. Nor will the reader wonder, that, thus excited and ſupported, it eaſily overbore their tender remonſtrances, when he knows that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the ſtature of a man; in one of which, when he was about eight years old, he received, from a boy much older than himſelf a wound in his right cheek, the ſcar of which was always very apparent. The falſe ſenſe of honour which inſtigated him to it might ſeem indeed ſomething excuſable, in theſe unripened

* I ſuppoſe this to have been Brigadier General Rue, who had from his childhood a peculiar affection for him.

years, and conſidering the profeſſion of his father, brother, and uncle; but I have often heard him mention this raſhneſs with that regret which the reflection would naturally give to ſo wiſe and good a man in the maturity of life. And I have been informed, that after his remarkable converſion, he declined accepting a challenge, with this calm and truly great reply, which in a man of his experienced bravery was exceeding graceful: "I fear ſinning, though you know I do not fear fighting."

§ 12. He ſerved firſt as a Cadet, which muſt have been very early; and then at fourteen years old he bore an Enſign's commiſſion in a Scotch regiment in the Dutch ſervice; in which he continued till the year 1702, when (if my information be right) he received an Enſign's commiſſion from Queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this ever memorable action, he received a wound in his mouth by a muſket-ball, which hath often been reported to be the occaſion of his converſion. That report was a miſtaken one; but as ſome very remarkable circumſtances attended this affair, which I have have had the pleaſure of hearing more than once from his

own mouth, I hope my reader will excuſe me if I give him ſo uncommon a ſtory at large.

§ 13. Our young officer was of a party in the Forlorn Hope, and was commanded on what ſeemed almoſt a deſperate ſervice, to diſpoſſeſs the French of the church-yard at Ramillies, where a conſiderable number of them were poſted to remarkable advantage. They ſucceeded much better than was expected; and it may well be ſuppoſed, that Mr Gardiner, who had before been in ſeveral encounters, and had the view of making his fortune to animate the natural intrepidity of his ſpirit, was glad of ſuch an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf. Accordingly he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, (probably in that horrid language which is ſo peculiar a diſgrace to our ſoldiery, and ſo abſurdly common in ſuch articles of extreme danger), he received a ſhot into his mouth, which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and an half on the left ſide of the vertebræ. Not feeling at firſt the pain of the ſtroke, he wondered what was become of the ball; and in the wildneſs of his ſurpriſe began to ſuſpect he had ſwallowed it; but dropping ſoon

after, he traced the paſſage of it by his finger, when he could diſcover it no other way, which I mention as one circumſtance among many which occur to make it probable that the greater part of thoſe who fall in battle by theſe inſtruments of death feel very little anguiſh from the moſt mortal wounds.

§ 14. This accident happened about five or ſix in the evening, on the 23d day of May, in the year 1706; and the army purſuing its advantages againſt the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was, it ſeems, the Duke of Marlborough's conſtant method), our young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be ſuppoſed, with a great variety of thoughts. He aſſured me, that when he reflected upon the circumſtances of his wound, that a ball ſhould, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preſerved him by miracle; and therefore aſſuredly concluded that he ſhould live, abandoned and deſperate as his ſtate then ſeemed to be. Yet, (which to me appeared very aſtoniſhing), he had little thoughts of humbling himſelf before God, and returning to him after the wanderings of a life ſo licentiouſly begun. But expecting to recover, his mind was taken up with contriv-

ances to ſecure his gold, of which he had a good deal about him; and he had recourſe to a very odd expedient, which proved ſucceſsful. Expecting to be ſtripped, he firſt took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choaked; and putting it in his left hand, he took out his money, (which I think was about 19 piſtoles), and ſhutting his hand, and beſmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this poſition till the blood dried in ſuch a manner that his hand could not eaſily fall open, though any ſudden ſurpriſe ſhould happen, in which he might loſe the preſence of mind which that concealment otherwiſe would have required.

§ 15. In the morning, the French, who were maſters of the ſpot, though their forces were defeated at ſome diſtance, came to plunder the ſlain; and ſeeing him to appearance almoſt expiring, one of them was juſt applying a ſword to his breaſt, to deſtroy the little remainder of life, when, in the critical moment upon which all the extraordinary events of ſuch a life as his afterwards proved, were ſuſpended, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interpoſed, taking him by his dreſs for a French-

man, and ſaid, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young ſoldier heard all that paſſed, though he was not able to ſpeak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a ſign for ſomething to drink. They gave him a ſup of ſome ſpirituous liquor which happened to be at hand; by which, he ſaid, he found a more ſenſible refreſhment than he could remember from any thing he had taſted either before or ſince. Then ſignifying to the Friar to lean down his ear to his mouth, he employed the firſt efforts of his feeble breath in telling him, (what, alas! was a contrived falſehood), that he was nephew to the governor of Huy, a neutral town in the neighbourhood; and that, if he could take any method of conveying him thither, he did not doubt but his uncle would liberally reward him. He had indeed a friend at Huy, (who, I think, was governor, and, if I miſtake not, had been acquainted with the Captain his father), from whom he expected a kind reception; but the relation was only pretended. On hearing this, they laid him on a ſort of hand-barrow, and ſent him by a file of muſqueteers toward the place; but the men loſt their way, and got into a wood towards the evening, in which they were obliged to continue all night. The poor patient's wound

being ſtill undreſſed, it is not to be wondered that by this time it raged violently. The anguiſh of it engaged him earneſtly to beg that they would either kill him outright, or leave him there to die, without the torture of any farther motion; and indeed they were obliged to reſt for a conſiderable time, on account of their own wearineſs. Thus he ſpent the ſecond night in the open air, without any thing more than a common bandage to ſtaunch the blood. He hath often mentioned it as a moſt aſtoniſhing providence, that he did not bleed to death; which, under God, he aſcribed to the remarkable coldneſs of theſe two nights.

§ 16. Judging it quite unſafe to attempt carrying him to Huy, from whence they were now ſeveral miles diſtant, his convoy took him early in the morning to a convent in the neighbourhood, where he was hoſpitably received, and treated with great kindneſs and tenderneſs. But the cure of his wound was committed to an ignorant barber-ſurgeon, who lived near the houſe; the beſt ſhift that could then be made, at a time when, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, perſons of ability in their profeſſion had their hands full of employment. The tent which this artiſt applied, was almoſt like a peg driven into the wound; and gen-

tlemen of ſkill and experience, when they came to hear of the manner in which he was treated, wondered how he could poſſibly ſurvive ſuch management. But, by the bleſſing of God, on theſe applications, rough as they were, he recovered in a few months. The Lady Abbeſs, who called him her ſon, treated him with the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he ſaw within theſe walls was conducted with the ſtricteſt decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there; and they would fain have perſuaded him to acknowlege what they thought ſo miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the Catholic Faith, as they were pleaſed to call it. But they could not ſucceed; for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much the ſpirit of a gentleman, lightly to change that form of religion which he wore (as it were) looſe about him, as well as too much good ſenſe to ſwallow thoſe monſtrous abſurdities of popery which immediately preſented themſelves to him, unacquainted as he was with the niceties of the controverſy.

§ 17. When his liberty was regained by an exchange of priſoners, and his health thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he was far from rendering unto

the Lord according to that wonderful diſplay of divine mercy which he had experienced. I know very little of the particulars of thoſe wild, thoughtleſs, and wretched years, which lay between the 19th and the 30th of his life; except it be, that he frequently experienced the divine goodneſs in renewed inſtances, particularly in preſerving him in ſeveral hot military actions, in all which he never received ſo much as a wound after this, forward as he was in tempting danger; and yet, that all theſe years were ſpent in an entire alienation from God, and an eager purſuit of animal pleaſure, as his ſupreme good. The ſeries of criminal amours in which he was almoſt inceſſantly engaged during this time, muſt probably have afforded ſome remarkable adventures and occurrences; but the memory of them is periſhed. Nor do I think it unworthy notice here, that amidſt all the intimacy of this friendſhip, and the many years of cheerful as well as ſerious converſe which we ſpent together, I never remember to have heard him ſpeak of any of theſe intrigues, otherwiſe than in the general with deep and ſolemn abhorrence. This I the rather mention, as it ſeemed a moſt genuine proof of his unfeigned repentance; which, I think, there is great reaſon

to ſuſpect, when people ſeem to take a pleaſure in relating and deſcribing ſcenes of vicious indulgence, which yet they profeſs to have diſapproved and forſaken.

§ 18. Amidſt all theſe pernicious wanderings from the paths of religion, virtue, and happineſs, he approved himſelf ſo well in his military character, that he was made a lieutenant in that year, viz. 1706: and I am told, he was very quickly promoted to a cornet's commiſſion in Lord Stair's regiment of Scotch Greys; and on the 31ſt of January 1714-15, was made captain-lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. He had the honour of being known to the Earl of Stair ſome time before, and was made his aid de camp; and when, upon his Lordſhip's being appointed ambaſſador from his late majeſty to the court of France, he made ſo ſplendid an entrance into Paris, Captain Gardiner was his maſter of the horſe; and I have been told, that a great deal of the care of that admirably well adjuſted ceremony fell upon him; ſo that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his Lordſhip's favour (which to the laſt day of his life he retained) a captain's commiſſion was procured for him (dated July 22d, in the year

1715) in the regiment of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Stanhope, (now Earl of Harrington); and, in the year 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced on November 10th 1718, when he was put out of commiſſion. But then his Majeſty King George I. was ſo thoroughly appriſed of his faithful and important ſervices, that he gave him his ſign manual, entitling him to the firſt majority that ſhould become vacant in any regiment of horſe or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commiſſion, dated 1ſt June 1724; and on the 20th of July the ſame year he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

§ 19. As I am now ſpeaking of ſo many of his military preferments, I will diſpatch the account of them, by obſerving, that on the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the ſame regiment, long under the command of Lord Cadogan; with whoſe friendſhip this brave and vigilant officer was alſo honoured for many years. And he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when

he received a Colonel's commiſſion over a regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by Brigadier Bland; at the head of which he valiantly fell, in the defence of his ſovereign and his country, about two years and a half after he received it.

§ 20. We will now return to that period of his life which paſſed at Paris, the ſcene of ſuch remarkable and important events. He continued, (if I remember right), ſeveral years under the roof of the brave and generous Earl of Stair; to whom he endeavoured to approve himſelf by every inſtance of diligent and faithful ſervice: And his Lordſhip gave no inconſiderable proof of the dependence which he had upon him, when, in the beginning of the year 1715, he entruſted him with the important diſpatches relating to a diſcovery, which, by a ſeries of admirable policy, he had made of a deſign which the French king was then forming for invading Great Britain, in favour of the pretender; in which the French apprehended they were ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that it ſeemed a point of friendſhip in one of the chief counſellors of that court, to diſſuade a dependent of his from accepting ſome employment under his Britannic Majeſty, when propoſed by his envoy there; becauſe, it was ſaid, that

in leſs than ſix weeks there would be a revolution in favour of what they called the family of the Stuarts. The Captain diſpatched his journey with the utmoſt ſpeed; a variety of circumſtances happily occurred to accelerate it; and they who remember how ſoon the regiments which that emergency required were raiſed and armed, will, I doubt not, eſteem it a memorable inſtance, both of the moſt cordial zeal in the friends of the government, and of the gracious care of Divine Providence over the houſe of Hanover, and the Britiſh liberties, ſo incomparably connected with its intereſt.

§ 21. While Captain Gardiner was at London, in one of the journeys he made upon this occaſion, he, with that frankneſs which was natural to him, and which in thoſe days was not always under the moſt prudent reſtraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad ſtate of the French king's health, that he would not live ſix weeks. This was made known by ſome ſpies who were at St James's, and came to be reported at the court of Verſailles; for he received letters from ſome friends at Paris, adviſing him not to return thither, unleſs he could reconcile himſelf to a lodging in the Baſtile. But he was ſoon free from

that apprehenſion; for, if I miſtake not, before half that time was accompliſhed, Lewis XIV. died †; and, it is generally thought, his death was haſtened by a very accidental circumſtance, which had ſome reference to the Captain's prophecy: For the laſt time he ever dined in public, which was a very little while after the report of it had been made there, he happened to diſcover our Britiſh envoy among the ſpectators. The penetration of this illuſtrious perſon was too great, and his attachment to the intereſt of his royal maſter too well known, not to render him very diſagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical prince, whom God had ſo long ſuffered to be the diſgrace of monarchy and the ſcourge of Europe. He at firſt appeared very languid, as indeed he was; but on caſting his eye upon the Earl of Stair, he affected to appear before him in a much better ſtate of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened on a ſudden from ſome deep reverie, immediately put himſelf into an erect poſture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means adviſeable, repeating it two or three times to a nobleman, (I think the duke of Bourbon), then in waiting, "Methinks I eat very well

† September 1. 1715.

" for a man who is to die ſo ſoon †." But this inroad upon that regularity of living which he had for ſome time obſerved, agreed ſo ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in leſs than a fortnight. This gave occaſion for ſome humorous people to ſay, that old Lewis, after all, was killed by a Briton. But if this ſtory be true, (which I think there can be no room to doubt, as the Colonel, from whom I have often heard it, though abſent, could ſcarce be miſinformed), it might more properly be ſaid that he fell by his own vanity; in which view I thought it ſo remarkable, as not to be unworthy a place in theſe memoirs.

§ 22. The Captain quickly returned, and continued, with ſmall interruptions, at Paris, at leaſt till the year 1720, and how much longer I do not certainly know. The Earl's favour and generoſity made him eaſy in his affairs, though he was (as has been obſerved above) part of the time out of commiſſion, by breaking the regiment to which he belonged, of which before he was major. This was, in all probability, the gayeſt part of his life, and the moſt criminal. Whatever wiſe and good examples he might find in the family where

† Il me ſemble, que je ne mange pas mal pour un homme qui devoit mourir ſi tot.

he had the honour to reſide, it is certain that the French court, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, was one of the moſt diſſolute under heaven. What, by a wretched abuſe of language, have been called intrigues of love and gallantry, were ſo entirely to the Major's then degenerate taſte, that, if not the whole buſineſs, at leaſt the whole happineſs of his life conſiſted in them; and he had now too much leiſure for one who was ſo prone to abuſe it. His fine conſtitution, than which perhaps there was hardly ever a better, gave him great opportunities of indulging himſelf in theſe exceſſes; and his good ſpirits enabled him to purſue his pleaſures of every kind, in ſo alert and ſprightly a manner, that multitudes envied him, and called him, by a dreadful kind of compliment, the happy rake.

§ 23. Yet ſtill the checks of conſcience, and ſome remaining principles of ſo good an education, would break in upon his moſt licentious hours; and I particularly remember, he told me, that when ſome of his diſſolute companions were once congratulating him on his diſtinguiſhed felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and ſaying to himſelf, "Oh that I were that dog!" Such was then

his happineſs; and ſuch perhaps is that of hundreds more, who bear themſelves higheſt in the contempt of religion, and glory in that infamous ſervitude which they affect to call liberty. But theſe remonſtrances of reaſon and conſcience were in vain; and, in ſhort, he carried things ſo far in this wretched part of his life, that I am well aſſured, ſome ſober Engliſh gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable ſoever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than ſought his company, as fearing they might have been inſnared and corrupted by it.

§ 24. Yet I cannot find, that in theſe moſt abandoned days he was fond of drinking. Indeed he never had any natural reliſh for that kind of intemperance, from which he uſed to think a manly pride might be ſufficient to preſerve perſons of ſenſe and ſpirit; as by it they give up every thing that diſtinguiſhes them from the meaneſt of their ſpecies, or indeed from animals the moſt below it; ſo that, if he ever fell into any exceſſes of this kind, it was merely out of complaiſance to his company, and that he might not appear ſtiff and ſingular. His frank, obliging, and generous temper, procured him many friends; and theſe

principles which rendered him amiable to others, not being under the direction of true wiſdom and piety, ſometimes made him, in the ways of living he purſued, more uneaſy to himſelf than he might perhaps have been if he could entirely have outgrown them; eſpecially as he was never a ſceptic in his principles, but ſtill retained a ſecret apprehenſion, that natural and revealed religion, though he did not much care to think of either, were founded in truth. And with this conviction, his notorious violations of the moſt eſſential precepts of both could not but occaſion ſome ſecret miſgivings of heart. His continual neglect of the great Author of his being, of whoſe perfections he could not doubt, and to whom he knew himſelf to be under daily and perpetual obligations, gave him, in ſome moments of involuntary reflection, inexpreſſible remorſe; and this, at times, wrought upon him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved he would attempt to pay him ſome acknowledgments. Accordingly, for a few mornings he did it; repeating in retirement ſome paſſages out of the Pſalms, and perhaps other ſcriptures, which he ſtill retained in his memory; and owning, in a few ſtrong words, the many mer-

cies and deliverances he had received, and the ill returns he had made for them.

§ 25. I find, among the other papers tranſmitted to me, the following verſes, which I have heard him repeat, as what had impreſſed him a good deal in his unconverted ſtate: and as I ſuppoſe they did ſomething towards ſetting him on this effort towards devotion, and might probably furniſh out a part of theſe oriſons, I hope I need make no apology to my reader for inſerting them, eſpecially as I do not recollect that I have ſeen them any where elſe.

Attend my ſoul! The early birds inſpire
My grov'ling thoughts with pure celeſtial fire:
They from their temp'rate ſleep awake, and pay
Their thankful anthems for the new-born day.
See how the tuneful lark is mounted high,
And poet-like, ſalutes the eaſtern ſky!
He warbles thro' the fragrant air his lays,
And ſeems the beauties of the morn to praiſe.
But man, more void of gratitude, awakes,
And gives no thanks for the ſweet reſt he takes;
Looks on the glorious ſun's new kindled flame
Without one thought of him from whom it came.
The wretch unhallow'd does the day begin;
Shakes off his ſleep, but ſhakes not off his ſin.

§ 26. But theſe ſtrains were too devout to continue long in a heart as yet quite unſancti-

fied; for how readily ſoever he could repeat ſuch acknowledgments of the divine power, preſence, and goodneſs, and own his own follies and faults, he was ſtopt ſhort by the remonſtrances of his conſcience, as to the flagrant abſurdity of confeſſing ſins he did not deſire to forſake, and of pretending to praiſe God for his mercies, when he did not endeavour to live to his ſervice, and to behave in ſuch a manner as gratitude, if ſincere, would plainly dictate. A model of devotion, where ſuch ſentiments made no part, his good ſenſe could not digeſt; and the uſe of ſuch language before an heart-ſearching God, merely as an hypocritical form, while the ſentiments of his ſoul were contrary to it, juſtly appeared to him ſuch daring profaneneſs, that, irregular as the ſtate of his mind was, the thought of it ſtruck him with horror. He therefore determined to make no more attempts of this ſort; and was perhaps one of the firſt that deliberately laid aſide prayer, from ſome ſenſe of God's omniſcience, and ſome natural principle of honour and conſcience.

§. 27. Theſe ſecret debates with himſelf, and ineffectual efforts, would ſometimes return: but they were overborne again and again by the force of temptation; and it is no wonder, that in conſequence of them his heart grew

yet harder. Nor was it ſoftened or awakened by ſome very memorable deliverances, which at this time he received. He was in extreme danger by a fall from his horſe, as he was riding poſt, (I think, in the ſtreets of Calais), when going down a hill, the horſe threw him over his head, and pitched over him; ſo that, when he roſe, the beaſt lay beyond him, and almoſt dead. Yet, though he received not the leaſt harm, it made no ſerious impreſſion on his mind. In his return from England in the packet boat, (if I remember right, but a few weeks after the former accident), a violent ſtorm, that drove them up to Harwich, toſſed them from thence for ſeveral hours in a dark night on the coaſt of Holland, and brought them into ſuch extremity, that the captain of the veſſel urged him to go to prayers immediately, if he ever intended to do it at all; for he concluded they would in a few minutes be at the bottom of the ſea. In this circumſtance he did pray, and that very fervently too; and it was very remarkable, that while he was crying to God for deliverance, the wind fell, and quickly after, they arrived at Calais. But the major was ſo little affected with what had befallen him, that when ſome of his gay friends, on hearing the ſtory, rallied him upon the efficacy of his

prayers, he excuſed himſelf from the ſcandal of being thought much in earneſt, by ſaying, "that it was midnight, and an hour when his "good mother and aunt were aſleep, or elſe "he ſhould have left that part of the buſineſs "to them:" A ſpeech which I ſhould not have mentioned, but as it ſhews in ſo lively a view the wretched ſituation of his mind at that time, though his great deliverance from the power of darkneſs was then nearly approaching. He recounted theſe things to me with the greateſt humility, as ſhewing how utterly unworthy he was of that miracle of divine grace by which he was quickly after brought to ſo true and ſo prevalent a ſenſe of religion.

§ 28. And now I am come to that aſtoniſhing part of his ſtory, the account of his converſion; which I cannot enter upon without aſſuring the reader, that I have ſometimes been tempted to ſuppreſs many circumſtances of it; not only as they may ſeem incredible to ſome, and enthuſiaſtical to others, but as I am very ſenſible they are liable to great abuſes; which was the reaſon that he gave me for concealing the moſt extraordinary from many perſons to whom he mentioned ſome of the reſt. And I believe it was this, together with the deſire of avoiding every thing that might look

like oſtentation on this head, that prevented his leaving a written account of it; though I have often intreated him to do it; as I particularly remember I did in the very laſt letter I ever wrote him; and pleaded the poſſibility of his falling amidſt thoſe daugers to which I knew his valour might in ſuch circumſtances naturally expoſe him. I was not ſo happy as to receive any anſwer to this letter, which reached him but a few days before his death; nor can I certainly ſay, whether he had or had not complied with my requeſt, as it is very poſſible a paper of that kind, if it were written, might be loſt amidſt the ravages which the rebels made when they plundered Bankton.

§ 29. The ſtory, however, was ſo remarkable, that I had little reaſon to apprehend I ſhould ever forget it; and yet, to guard againſt all contingencies of that kind, I wrote it down that very evening, as I heard it from his own mouth: And I have now before me the memoirs of that converſation, dated Aug. 14. 1739, which conclude with theſe words, (which I added, that, if we ſhould both have died that night, the world might not have loſt this edifying and affecting hiſtory, or have wanted any atteſtation of it I was capable of giving), " N. B. I have written down this

" account with all the exactneſs I am capable " of, and could ſafely take an oath of it, " as to the truth of every circumſtance, to " the beſt of my remembrance, as the Colonel " related it to me a few hours ago." I do not know that I had reviewed this paper ſince I wrote it, till I ſet myſelf thus publicly to record this extraordinary fact; but I find it punctually to agree with what I have often related from my memory, which I charged carefully with ſo wonderful and important a fact. It is with all ſolemnity that I now deliver it down to poſterity, as in the ſight and preſence of God; and I choſe deliberately to expoſe myſelf to thoſe ſevere cenſures, which the haughty, but empty ſcorn of infidelity, or principles nearly approaching it, and effectually doing its pernicious work, may very probably dictate upon the occaſion, rather than to ſmother a relation, which may, in the judgment of my conſcience, be like to conduce ſo much to the glory of God, the honour of the goſpel, and the good of mankind. One thing more I will only premiſe, that I hope none who have heard the Colonel himſelf ſpeak ſomething of this wonderful ſcene, will be ſurpriſed if they find ſome new circumſtances here; becauſe he aſſured me, at the time he

firſt gave me the whole narration, (which was in the very room in which I now write), that he had never imparted it ſo fully to any man living before. Yet, at the ſame time, he gave me full liberty to communicate it to whomſoever I ſhould in my conſcience judge it might be uſeful to do it, whether before or after his death. Accordingly, I did, while he was alive, recount almoſt every circumſtance I am now going to write to ſeveral pious friends; referring them at the ſame time to the Colonel himſelf, whenever they might have an opportunity of ſeeing or writing to him, for a farther confirmation of what I told them, if they judged it requiſite. They glorified God in him; and I humbly hope, many of my readers will alſo do it. They will ſoon perceive the reaſon of ſo much caution in my introduction to this ſtory, for which therefore I ſhall make no further apology *.

* It is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, ſince I wrote this, to have received a letter from the Rev. Mr Spears, miniſter of the goſpel at Burntiſland, dated Jan. 14. 1746-7, in which he relates to me this whole ſtory, as he had it from the Colonel's own mouth, about four years after he gave me the narration. There is not a ſingle circumſtance in which either of our narrations diſagree; and every one of the particulars in mine, which ſeem moſt aſtoniſhing, are atteſted by this, and ſometimes in ſtronger words; one only excepted, on which I ſhall add a ſhort remark when I come to it. As this letter was written near Lady Frances Gardiner, at her deſire, and attended with a poſtſcript from

§ 30. This memorable event happened towards the middle of July 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The Major had ſpent the evening (and, if I miſtake not, it was the ſabbath) in ſome gay company, and had an unhappy aſſignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with ſome amuſing book, or ſome other way. But it very accidently happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, ſlipped into his portmantua. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Chriſtian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by Mr Thomas Watſon. Gueſſing by the title of it that he ſhould find ſome phraſes of his own profeſſion ſpiritualized in a manner which he thought might afford him ſome diverſion, he reſolved to dip into it; but he took no ſerious notice of any thing he read in it; And yet, while this book was in his hand, an

her own hand, this is, in effect, a ſufficient atteſtation how agreeable it was to thoſe accounts which ſhe muſt have often heard the Colonel give of this matter.

impreſſion was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how), which drew after it a train of the moſt important and happy conſequences.

§ 31. There is indeed a poſſibility, that while he was ſitting in this attitude, and reading in this careleſs and profane manner, he might ſuddenly fall aſleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he ſaw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, he judged himſelf to have been as broad awake during the whole time as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me ſeveral times afterwards as what undoubtedly paſſed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes *.

§ 32. He thought he ſaw an unuſual blaze of light fall upon the book while he was reading, which he at firſt imagined might happen

* Mr Spears, in the letter mentioned above, where he introduces the Colonel telling his own ſtory, has theſe "words: All of a ſudden, there was preſented, in a very "lively manner, to my view, or to my mind, a repreſen-"tation of my glorious Redeemer," &c. And this gentleman adds in a parentheſis, "It was ſo lively and "ſtriking, that he could not tell whether it was to his "bodily eyes, or to thoſe of his mind." This makes me think that what I had ſaid to him on the phenomena of viſions, apparitions, &c. (as being, when moſt real, ſupernatural impreſſions on the imaginations, rather than attended with any external object), had ſome influence upon him. Yet ſtill it is evident he looked upon this as a viſion, whether it were before the eyes, or in the mind, and not as a dream.

by ſome accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were ſuſpended in the air, a viſible repreſentation of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt upon the croſs, ſurrounded on all ſides with a glory; and was impreſſed, as if a voice, or ſomething equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words), "Oh ſinner! did I ſuffer this for thee, and are theſe thy returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a ſtrong impreſſion on his mind equally ſtriking, he did not ſeem very confident; though, to the beſt of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with ſo amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him; ſo that he ſunk down in the arm-chair in which he ſat, and continued, he knew not very exactly how long, inſenſible: (which was one circumſtance that made me ſeveral times take the liberty to ſuggeſt that he might poſſibly be all this while aſleep). But however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and ſaw nothing more than uſual.

§ 33. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed he was in no condition to make any obſervation upon the time in which he had remained in an in-

ſenſible ſtate; nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and deteſtable aſſignation which had before engroſſed all his thoughts. He roſe in a tumult of paſſions not to be conceived, and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable aſtoniſhment and agony of heart, appearing to himſelf the vileſt monſter in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Chriſt afreſh by his ſins, and now ſaw, as he aſſuredly believed, by a miraculous viſion, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected ſuch a view both of the majeſty and goodneſs of God, as cauſed him to lothe and abhor himſelf, and to repent as in duſt and aſhes. He immediately gave judgment againſt himſelf, that he was moſt juſtly worthy of eternal damnation. He was aſtoniſhed that he had not been immediately ſtruck dead in the midſt of his wickedneſs; and (which I think deſerves particular remark) though he aſſuredly believed that he ſhould e'er long be in hell, and ſettled it as a point with himſelf for ſeveral months, that the wiſdom and juſtice of God did almoſt neceſſarily require that ſuch an enormous ſinner ſhould be made an example of everlaſting vengeance, and a ſpec-

tacle as ſuch both to angels and men; ſo that he hardly durſt preſume to pray for pardon; yet what he then ſuffered was not ſo much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would ſoon be his portion, as from a fear of that horrible ingratitude he had ſhewn to the God of his life, and to that bleſſed Redeemer who had been in ſo affecting a manner ſet forth as crucified before him.

§ 34. To this he refers in a letter, dated from Douglas, April 1 1725, communicated to me by his Lady *; but I know not to whom it was addreſſed. His words are theſe: "One "thing relating to my converſion, and a re- "markable inſtance of the goodneſs of God "to me, the chief of ſinners, I do not remem-

* N. B. Where I make any extracts, as from Colonel Gardiner's letters, they are either from originals, which I have in my own hands, or from copies which were tranſmitted to me from perſons of undoubted credit, chiefly by the Right Honourable Lady Francis Gardiner, through the hands of the Rev. Mr Webſter, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh. This I the rather mention, becauſe ſome letters have been brought to me as Colonel Gardiner's, concerning which I have not only been very dubious, but morally certain that they could not have been written by him. I have alſo heard of many who have been fond of aſſuring the world that they were well acquainted with him, and were near him when he fell, whoſe reports have been moſt inconſiſtent with each other, as well as contrary to that teſtimony relating to the circumſtances of his death, which, on the whole, appeared to me beyond controverſy the moſt natural and authentic; from whence therefore I ſhall take my account of that affecting ſcene.

"ber that I ever told to any other perſon. It "was this; that after the aſtoniſhing ſight I "had of my bleſſed Lord, the terrible condi- "tion in which I was proceeded not ſo much "from the terrors of the law, as from a ſenſe "of having been ſo ungrateful a monſter to "Him whom I thought I ſaw pierced for my "tranſgreſſions." I the rather inſert theſe words, as they evidently atteſt the circumſtance which may ſeem moſt amazing in this affair, and contain ſo expreſs a declaration of his own apprehenſion concerning it.

§ 35. In this view, it may naturally be ſuppoſed that he paſſed the remainder of the night waking; and he could get but little reſt in ſeveral that followed. His mind was continually taken up in reflecting on the divine purity and goodneſs; the grace which had been propoſed to him in the goſpel, and which he had rejected; the ſingular advantages he had enjoyed and abuſed; and the many favours of providence which he had received, particularly in reſcuing him from ſo many imminent dangers of death, which he now ſaw muſt have been attended with ſuch dreadful and hopeleſs deſtruction. The privileges of his education, which he had ſo much deſpiſed, now lay with an almoſt inſupportable weight on his mind;

and the folly of that career of ſinful pleaſure, which he had ſo many years been running with deſperate eagerneſs and unworthy delight, now filled him with indignation againſt himſelf, and againſt the great deceiver, by whom (to uſe his own phraſe) he had been "ſo wretchedly and ſcandalouſly befooled." This he uſed often to expreſs in the ſtrongeſt terms, which I ſhall not repeat ſo particularly, as I can recollect ſome of them. But on the whole, it is certain, that by what paſſed before he left his chamber the next day, the whole frame and diſpoſition of his ſoul was new-modelled and changed; ſo that he became, and continued to the laſt day of his exemplary and truly Chriſtian life, the very reverſe of what he had been before. A variety of particulars, which I am afterwards to mention, will illuſtrate this in the moſt convincing manner. But I cannot proceed to them, without pauſing a while to adore ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of the power and freedom of divine grace, and intreating my reader ſeriouſly to reflect upon it, that his own heart may be ſuitably affected; for ſurely, if the truth of the fact be admitted in the loweſt views in which it can be placed, (that is ſuppoſing the firſt impreſſion to have paſſed in a dream), it muſt be allowed

to have been little, if any thing, leſs than miraculous. It cannot, in the courſe of nature, be imagined how ſuch a dream ſhould ariſe in a mind full of the moſt impure ideas and affections, and (as he himſelf often pleaded) more alienated from the thoughts of a crucified Saviour than from any other object that can be conceived; nor can we ſurely ſuppoſe it ſhould, without a mighty energy of the divine power, be effectual to produce, not only ſome tranſient flow of paſſion, but ſo entire and ſo permanent a change in character and conduct.

§ 36. On the whole, therefore, I muſt beg leave to expreſs my own ſentiments of the matter, by repeating on this occaſion what I wrote ſeveral years ago, in my eighth ſermon on regeneration, in a paſſage dictated chiefly by the circumſtantial knowledge which I had of this amazing ſtory, and, methinks, ſufficiently vindicated by it, if it ſtood entirely alone; which yet, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, it does not: For I hope the world will be particularly informed, that there is at leaſt a ſecond, that does very nearly approach it, whenever the eſtabliſhed church of England ſhall loſe one of its brighteſt living ornaments, and one of the moſt uſeful members which

that, or perhaps any other Chriſtian communion, can boaſt: In the mean time, may his exemplary life be long continued, and his zealous miniſtry abundantly proſpered! I beg my reader's pardon for this digreſſion. The paſſage I referred to above is remarkably, though not equally, applicable to both the caſes, as it ſtands in page 263 of the firſt edition, and page 160 of the ſecond; under that head where I am ſhewing that God ſometimes accompliſhes the great work of which we ſpeak by ſecret and immediate impreſſions on the mind. After preceding illuſtrations, there are are the following words, on which the Colonel's converſion will throw the juſteſt light: "Yea, I have known thoſe of diſtin-
"guiſhed genius, polite manners, and great
"experience in human affairs, who, after hav-
"ing outgrown all the impreſſions of a religi-
"ous education, after having been hardened,
"rather than ſubdued, by the moſt ſingular
"mercies, even various, repeated, and aſto-
"niſhing deliverances, which have appeared
"to themſelves no leſs than miraculous; after
"having lived for years without God in the
"world, notoriouſly corrupt themſelves, and
"labouring to the utmoſt to corrupt others,
"have been ſtopt on a ſudden in the full ca-

" reer of their ſin, and have felt ſuch rays of " the divine preſence, and of redeeming love, " darting in upon their minds, almoſt like " lightning from heaven, as have at once " rouzed, overpowered, and transformed them; " ſo that they have come out of their ſecret " chamber with an irreconcileable enmity " to thoſe vices to which, when they en- " tered them, they were the tameſt and moſt " abandoned ſlaves; and have appeared from " that very hour the votaries, the patrons, the " champions of religion; and after a courſe " of the moſt reſolute attachment to it, in " ſpite of all the reaſonings or the railleries, " the importunities or the reproaches of its " enemies, they have continued to this day " ſome of its brighteſt ornaments: A change " which I behold with equal wonder and de- " light, and which, if a nation ſhould join in " deriding it, I would adore as the finger of " God."

§ 37. The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till towards the end of October, (that is, rather more than three months, but eſpecially the two firſt of them), in as extraordinary a ſituation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys ariſing from a ſenſe of pardon; but, on

the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very ſhort intervals of hope toward the end of it, took it for granted, that he muſt, in all probability, quickly periſh. Nevertheleſs, he had ſuch a ſenſe of the evil of ſin, of the goodneſs of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Chriſtian revelation, that he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as uſeful a manner as he could: and to continue caſting himſelf at the feet of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could ſay was, that he did not abſolutely deſpair. He had at that time ſuch a ſenſe of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durſt form any determinate reſolution againſt ſin, or pretend to engage himſelf by any vow in the preſence of God; but was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himſelf a moſt ſurpriſing alteration with regard to the diſpoſitions of his heart; ſo that, though he felt little of the delights of religious duties, he extremely deſired opportunities of being engaged in them; and thoſe licentious pleaſures, which had before been his heaven, were now

abſolutely his averſion. And indeed, when I conſider how habitual all thoſe criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed to reflect upon it, that he ſhould be ſo wonderfully ſanctified in body, as well as ſoul and ſpirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, ſhould find ſo conſtant a diſinclination to, and abhorrance of, thoſe criminal ſenſualities to which he fancied he was before ſo invincibly impelled by his very conſtitution, that he was uſed ſtrangely to think, and to ſay, that Omnipotence itſelf could not reform him, without deſtroying that body, and giving him another *.

* Mr. Spears expreſſes this wonderful circumſtance in theſe remarkable words: "I was (ſaid the Colonel to me) "effectually cured of all inclination to that ſin I was ſo "ſtrongly addicted to, that I thought nothing but ſhooting "me through the head could have cured me of it; and all "deſire and inclination to it was removed, as entirely as "if I had been a ſuckling child: nor did the temptation "return to this day." Mr Webſter's words on the ſame "ſubject are theſe: One thing I have heard the Colonel "frequently ſay, that he was much addicted to impurity "before his acquaintance with religion; but that, ſo ſoon "as he was enlightened from above, he felt the power of "the Holy Ghoſt changing his nature ſo wonderfully, "that his ſanctification in this reſpect ſeemed more "remarkable than in any other." On which that worthy perſon makes this very reaſonable reflection: "So "thorough a change of ſuch a polluted nature, evidenced "by the moſt unblemiſhed walk and converſation for a "long courſe of years, demonſtrates indeed the power of "the Higheſt, and leaves no room to doubt of its reality."

§ 38. Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption, which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breaſt ſo contrary a diſpoſition, that he was grieved to ſee human nature, in thoſe to whom he was almoſt entirely a ſtranger, proſtituted to ſuch low and contemptible purſuits. He therefore exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat; and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, ſo far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to ſobriety, righteouſneſs, and godlineſs. Yet he was very deſirous and cautious, that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his firſt petitions to God, the very day after theſe amazing impreſſions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be ſuffered to behave with ſuch an affected ſtrictneſs and preciſeneſs, as would lead others about him into miſtaken notions

Mr Spears ſays this happened in three days time: But from what I can recollect, all that the Colonel could mean by that expreſſion, if he uſed it, (as I concluded he did), was, that he began to make the obſervation in the ſpace of three days; whereas, during that time, his thoughts were ſo taken up with the wonderful views preſented to his mind, that he did not immediately attend to it. If he had within the firſt three days any temptation to ſeek ſome eaſe from the anguiſh of his mind, in returning to former ſenſualities, it is a circumſtance he did not mention to me; and by what I can recollect of the ſtrain of his diſcourſe, he intimated, if he did not expreſs the contrary.

of religion, and expoſe it to reproach or ſuſpicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reaſon, he endeavoured to appear as chearful in converſation as he conſcientiouſly could; though, in ſpite of all his precautions, ſome traces of that deep inward ſenſe which he had of his guilt and miſery would at times appear. He made no ſecret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumſtances attending that change. He told his moſt intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the courſe of life in which he had ſo long joined them, and found it to be folly and madneſs, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy perſons calling themſelves Chriſtians. And he ſet up his ſtandard upon all occaſions, againſt principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he diſplayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with ſo much honour in the field.

§ 39. I cannot forbear mentioning one ſtruggle of this kind, which he deſcribed to me, with a large detail of circumſtances, the firſt day of our acquaintance. There was at that time in Paris a certain lady, (whoſe name, then well known in the grand and the gay

world, I muſt beg leave to conceal), who had imbibed the principles of Deiſm, and valued herſelf much upon being an avowed advocate for them. The major, with his uſual frankneſs, (though, I doubt not, with that politeneſs of manners which was ſo habitual to him, and which he retained throughout his whole life), anſwered her like a man who perfectly ſaw through the fallacy of her arguments, and was grieved to the heart for her deluſion. On this ſhe briſkly challenged him to debate the matter at large, and to fix upon a day for that purpoſe, when he ſhould dine with her attended with any clergyman he might chooſe, whether of the Proteſtant or Catholic communion. A ſenſe of duty would not allow him to decline this challenge; and yet he had no ſooner accepted it, but he was thrown into great perplexity and diſtreſs, leſt being (as I remember he expreſſed it when he told me the ſtory) only a Chriſtian of ſix weeks old, he ſhould prejudiſe ſo good a cauſe by his unſkilful manner of defending it. However, he ſought his refuge in earneſt and repeated prayers to God, that he who can ordain ſtrength, and perfect praiſe out of the mouth of babes and ſucklings, would graciouſly enable him, on this occaſion, to vindicate his truths in a

manner which might carry conviction along with it. He then endeavoured to marſhal the arguments in his own mind as well as he could; and apprehending that he could not ſpeak with ſo much freedom before a number of perſons, eſpecially before ſuch whoſe province he might in that caſe ſeem to invade, if he had not devolved the principal part of the diſcourſe upon them, he eaſily admitted the apology of a clergyman or two, to whom he mentioned the affair, and waited on the lady alone upon the day appointed. But his heart was ſo ſet upon the buſineſs, that he came earlier than he was expected, and time enough to have two hours diſcourſe before dinner; nor did he at all decline having two young perſons nearly related to the lady preſent during the conference.

§ 40. The major opened it, with a view of ſuch arguments for the Chriſtian religion as he had digeſted in his own mind, to prove that the apoſtles were not miſtaken themſelves, and that they could not have intended to impoſe upon us in the accounts they give of the grand facts they atteſt; with the truth of which facts that of the Chriſtian religion is moſt apparently connected. And it was a great encouragement to him to find, that, un-

accuſtomed as he was to diſcourſes of this nature, he had an unuſual command both of thought and expreſſion; ſo that he recollected and uttered every thing as he could have wiſhed. The lady heard with attention; and though he pauſed between every branch of the argument, ſhe did not interrupt the courſe of it till he told her he had finiſhed his deſign, and waited for her reply. She then produced ſome of her objections, which he took up and canvaſſed in ſuch a manner, that at length ſhe burſt out into tears, allowed the force of his arguments and replies, and appeared for ſome time after ſo deeply impreſſed with the converſation, that it was obſerved by ſeveral of her friends: And there is reaſon to believe, that the impreſſion continued, at leaſt ſo far as to prevent her from ever appearing under the character of an unbeliever or a ſceptic.

§ 41. This is only one ſpecimen among many of the battles he was almoſt daily called out to fight in the cauſe of religion and virtue; with relation to which I find him expreſſing himſelf thus, in a letter to Mrs Gardiner, his good mother, dated from Paris, the 25th January following, that is, 1719-20, in anſwer to one in which ſhe had warned him to expect ſuch trials: "I have, (ſays he), al-

" ready met with them, and am obliged to " fight, and to diſpute every inch of ground: " But all thanks and praiſe to the great Cap- " tain of my ſalvation; he fights for me; " and then it is no wonder that I come off " more than conqueror." By which laſt expreſſion I ſuppoſe he meant to inſinuate, that he was ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed, rather than overborne by this oppoſition. Yet it was not immediately that he gained ſuch fortitude. He has often told me how much he felt in thoſe days of the emphaſis of thoſe well-choſen, in which he ranks the trial of cruel mockings with ſcourgings, and bonds, and impriſonments. The continual railleries with which he was received in almoſt all companies where he had been moſt familiar before, did often diſtreſs him beyond meaſure; ſo that he has ſeveral times declared, he would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged ſo continually as he was to face ſuch artillery as this. But, like a brave ſoldier in the firſt action wherein he is engaged, he continued reſolute, though ſhuddering at the terror of the aſſault; and quickly overcame thoſe impreſſions, which it is not perhaps in nature wholly to avoid. And therefore I find him, in the letter referred to

above, which was written about half a year after his converſion, "quite aſhamed to think "of the uneaſineſs which theſe things once "gave him." In a word, he went on, as every reſolute Chriſtian by divine grace may do, till he turned ridicule and oppoſition into reſpect and veneration.

§ 42. But this ſenſible triumph over theſe difficulties was not till his Chriſtian experience had been abundantly advanced, by the bleſſing of God on the ſermons he heard, (particularly in the Swiſs Chapel), and on the many hours which he ſpent in devout retirement, pouring out his whole ſoul before God in prayer. He began, within about two months after his firſt memorable change, to perceive ſome ſecret dawnings of more cheerful hope, that vile as he ſaw himſelf to be, (and I believe no words can expreſs how vile that was), he might nevertheleſs obtain mercy through a Redeemer. And at length, (if I remember right, about the end of October 1719), he found all the burthen of his mind taken off at once, by the powerful impreſſion of that memorable ſcripture upon his mind, Rom. iii. 25, 26. *Whom God hath ſet forth for a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteouſneſs in the remiſſion of ſins,—that he might be juſt, and*

the juſtifier of him that believeth in Jeſus. He had uſed to imagine, that the juſtice of God required the damnation of ſo enormous a ſinner as he ſaw himſelf to be: but now he was made deeply ſenſible, that the divine juſtice might be not only vindicated, but glorified in ſaving him by the blood of Jeſus, even that blood which cleanſeth us from all ſin. Then did he ſee and feel the riches of redeeming love and grace, in ſuch a manner, as not only engaged him with the utmoſt pleaſure and confidence to venture his ſoul upon it; but even ſwallowed up (as it were) his whole heart in the returns of love, which from that bleſſed time became the genuine and delightful principle of his obedience, and animated him with an enlarged heart, to turn to the way of God's commandments. Thus, God was pleaſed (as he himſelf uſed to ſpeak) in an hour to turn his captivity. All the terrors of his former ſtate were changed into unutterable joy, which kept him almoſt continually waking for three nights together, and yet refreſhed him as the nobleſt of cordials. His expreſſions, though naturally very ſtrong, always ſeemed to be ſwallowed up, when he would deſcribe the ſeries of thought through which he now paſſed, under the rapturous experience of that

joy unſpeakable, and full of glory, which then ſeemed to overflow his very ſoul; as indeed there was nothing he ſeemed to ſpeak of with greater reliſh. And though the firſt ecſtacies of it afterwards ſubſided into a more calm and compoſed delight, yet were the impreſſions ſo deep and ſo permanent, that he aſſured me, on the word of a Chriſtian and a friend, wonderful as it might ſeem, that for about ſeven years after this, he enjoyed almoſt an heaven upon earth. His ſoul was ſo continually filled with a ſenſe of the love of God in Chriſt, that it knew little interruption, but when neceſſary converſe and the duties of his ſtation called off his thoughts for a little time; and when they did ſo, as ſoon as he was alone, the torrent returned into its natural channel again; ſo that, from the minute of his awakening in the morning, his heart was riſing to God, and triumphing in him; and theſe thoughts attended him through all the ſcenes of life, till he lay down on his bed again, and a ſhort parentheſis of ſleep (for it was but a very ſhort one that he allowed himſelf) invigorated his animal powers for renewing them with greater intenſeneſs and ſenſibility.

§ 43. I ſhall have an opportunity of illuſtrating this in the moſt convincing manner be-

low, by extracts from ſeveral letters which he wrote to intimate friends during this happy period of time; letters which breathe a ſpirit of ſuch ſublime and fervent piety, as I have ſeldom met with any where elſe. In theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that he was greatly delighted with Dr Watts's imitation of the 126th pſalm; ſince it may be queſtioned whether there ever was a perſon to whom the following ſtanzas of it were more ſuitable.

When God reveal'd his gracious name,
And chang'd my mournful ſtate,
My rapture ſeem'd a pleaſing dream;
Thy grace appear'd ſo great.

The world beheld the glorious change,
And did thine hand confeſs;
My tongue broke out in unknown ſtrains,
And ſung ſurpriſing grace.

"Great is the work," my neighbours cry'd,
And own'd the pow'r divine:
"Great is the work," my heart reply'd;
"And be the glory thine."

The Lord can change the darkeſt ſkies,
Can give us day for night;
Make floods of ſacred ſorrow riſe
To rivers of delight.

Let thoſe that ſow in ſadneſs, wait
Till the fair harveſt come:

They ſhall confeſs their ſheaves are great,
And ſhout the bleſſings home.

§ 44. I have been ſo happy as to get the ſight of five original letters, which he wrote to his mother about this time, which do, in a very lively manner, illuſtrate the ſurpriſing change made in the whole current of his thoughts and temper of his mind. Many of them were written in the moſt haſty manner, juſt as the courier who brought them was perhaps unexpectedly ſetting out; and they relate chiefly to affairs in which the public is not at all concerned: yet there is not one of them in which he has not inſerted ſome warm and genuine ſentiment of religion. And indeed, it is very remarkable, that though he was pleaſed to honour me with a great many letters, and I have ſeen ſeveral more which he wrote to others, ſome of them on journeys, where he could have but a few minutes at command, yet I cannot recollect, that ever I ſaw any one in which there was not ſome trace of piety. And the reverend Mr Webſter, who was employed to review great numbers of them, that he might ſelect ſuch extracts as he ſhould think proper to communicate to me, has made the ſame obſervation *.

* His words are theſe: "I have read over a vaſt num-
"ber of the colonel's letters, and have not found any of

§ 45. The major, with great juſtice, tells the good lady his mother, "that when ſhe ſaw "him again, ſhe would find the perſon indeed "the ſame, but every thing elſe entirely "changed." And ſhe might eaſily have percieved it of herſelf, by the whole tenor of thoſe letters, which every where breathe the unaffected ſpirit of a true Chriſtian. They are taken up ſometimes with giving advice and directions concerning ſome pious and charitable contributions; (one of which I remember amounted to ten guineas, though, as he was then out of commiſſion, and had not formerly been very frugal, it cannot be ſuppoſed he had much to ſpare); ſometimes in ſpeaking of the pleaſure with which he attended ſermons, and expected ſacramental opportunities; and at other times, in exhorting her, eſtabliſhed as ſhe was in religion, to labour after a yet more exemplary character and conduct, or in recommending her to the divine preſence and bleſſing, as well as himſelf to her prayers. What ſatisfaction ſuch letters as theſe muſt

"them, however ſhort, and writ in the moſt paſſing man-
"ner, even when poſting, but what is expreſſive of the
"moſt paſſionate breathings towards his God and Saviour.
"If the letter conſiſts but of two ſentences, religion is not
"forgotten, which doubtleſs deſerves to be carefully re-
"marked as the moſt uncontęſted evidence of a pious mind
"ever under the warmeſt impreſſions of divine things."

give to a lady of her diſtinguiſhed piety, who had ſo long wept over this dear and amiable ſon as quite loſt to God, and on the verge of final deſtruction, it is not for me to deſcribe, or indeed to conceive. But haſtily as theſe letters were written, only for private view, I will give a few ſpecimens from them in his own words; which will ſerve to illuſtrate, as well as confirm, what I have hinted above.

§ 46. "I muſt take the liberty," ſays he in a letter dated on the firſt day of the new year, or, according to the old ſtyle, Dec. 21. 1719. "to intreat you, that you would receive no "company on the Lord's day. I know you "have a great many good acquaintance, with "whoſe diſcourſes one might be very well "edified; but as you cannot keep out and let "in whom you pleaſe, the beſt way, in my "humble opinion, will be to ſee none." In another, of Jan. 25. "I am happier than any "any one can imagine, except I could put "him exactly in the ſame ſituation with my-"ſelf; which is what the world cannot give, "and no man ever attained it, unleſs it were "from above." In another, dated March 30. which was juſt before a ſacrament, "To-mor-"row, if it pleaſe God, I ſhall be happy,

" my ſoul being to be fed with the bread of " life, which came down from heaven. I ſhall " be mindful of you all there." In another, of Jan. 29. he thus expreſſes that indifference for worldly poſſeſſions which he ſo remarkably carried through all the remainder of his life: " I know the rich are only ſtewards for the " poor, and muſt give an account of every " penny; therefore the leſs I have, the more " eaſy will it be to render a faithful account " of it." And, to add no more from theſe letters at preſent, in concluſion of one of them, he has theſe comprehenſive and ſolemn words: " Now that he who is the eaſe of the afflict- " ed, the ſupport of the weak, the wealth of " the poor, the teacher of the ignorant, the " anchor of the fearful, and the infinite re- " ward of all faithful ſouls, may pour out " upon you all his richeſt bleſſings, ſhall al- " ways be the prayer of him who is entirely " your's, &c.

§ 47. To this account of his correſpondence with his excellent mother, I ſhould be glad to add a large view of another, to which ſhe introduced him, with that reverened and valuable perſon, under whoſe paſtoral care ſhe was placed, I mean the juſtly celebrated Dr Edmund Calamy, to whom ſhe could not but

early communicate the joyful news of her ſon's converſion. I am not ſo happy as to be poſſeſſed of the letters which paſſed between them, which I have reaſon to believe would make a curious and valuable collection: But I have had the pleaſure of receiving, from my worthy and amiable friend, the Reverend Mr Edmund Calamy, one of the letters which the Doctor his father wrote to the Major on this wonderful occaſion. I perceive by the contents of it, that it was the firſt; and indeed it is dated as early as the third of Auguſt 1719, which muſt be but a few days after his own account, dated Auguſt 4th, N. S. could reach England. There is ſo much true religion and good ſenſe in this paper, and the counſel it ſuggeſts may be ſo ſeaſonable to other perſons in circumſtances which bear any reſemblance to his, that I make no apology to my reader for inſerting a large extract from it.

§ 48. "Dear Sir,—I conceive it will not "much ſurpriſe you to underſtand that your "good mother communicated to me your let-"ter to her, dated Auguſt 4th, N. S. which "brought her the news you conceive would "be ſo acceptable to her. I who have often "been a witneſs to her concern for you on

" a ſpiritual account, can atteſt with what
" joy this news was received by her, and im-
" parted to me as a ſpecial friend, who ſhe
" knew would bear a part with her on ſuch
" an occaſion. And indeed, if, as our Sa-
" viour intimates, Luke xv. 7, 10. *there is*
" in ſuch caſes *joy in heaven*, and *among the*
" *angels of God*, it may well be ſuppoſed,
" that of a pious mother, who has ſpent ſo
" many prayers and tears upon you, and has
" as it were *travailed in birth with you again,*
" *till Chriſt was formed in you*, could not be
" ſmall. You may believe me if I add, that
" I alſo, as a common friend of her's and
" your's, and which is much more, of the
" Prince of Light, whom you now declare you
" heartily fall in with in oppoſition to that
" of the dark kingdom, could not but be ten-
" derly affected with an account of it under
" your own hand. My joy on this account
" was the greater, conſidering the importance
" of your capacity, intereſts, and proſpects;
" which in ſuch an age as this, may promiſe
" moſt happy conſequences, on your heartily
" appearing on God's ſide, and embarking in
" the intereſt of our dear Redeemer. If I
" have hitherto at all remembered you at the
" throne of grace, at your good mother's de-

" ſire, (which you are pleaſed to take no-
" tice of with ſo much reſpect), I can aſſure
" I ſhall henceforth be led to do it with
" more concern and particularity, both by
" duty and inclination. And if I were ca-
" pable of giving you any little aſſiſtance in
" the noble deſign you are engaging in, by
" correſponding with you by letter, while
" you are at ſuch a diſtance, I ſhould do it
" moſt cheerfully. And, perhaps, ſuch a
" motion may not be altogether unaccept-
" able: For I am inclinable to believe, that
" when ſome, whom you are obliged to con-
" verſe with, obſerve your behaviour ſo dif-
" ferent from what it formerly was, and ban-
" ter you upon it as mad and fanciful, it may
" be ſome little relief to correſpond with one
" who will take a pleaſure in heartening and
" encouraging you. And when a great ma-
" ny things frequently offer, in which con-
" ſcience may be concerned where duty may
" not always be plain, nor ſuitable perſons to
" adviſe with at hand, it may be ſome ſatis-
" faction to you to correſpond with one, with
" whom you may uſe a friendly freedom in
" all ſuch matters, and on whoſe fidelity you
" may depend. You may therefore com-
" mand me in any of theſe reſpects, and I

" ſhall take a pleaſure in ſerving you —One
" piece of advice I ſhall venture to give you,
" though your own good ſenſe will make my
" enlarging upon it leſs needful; I mean,
" that you would, from your firſt ſetting out,
" carefully diſtinguiſh between the eſſentials
" of real religion, and thoſe things which are
" commonly reckoned by its profeſſors to be-
" long to it. The want of this diſtinction
" has had very unhappy conſequences from
" one age to another, and perhaps in none more
" than the preſent. But your daily converſe
" with your Bible, which you mention, may
" herein give you great aſſiſtance. I move
" alſo, that ſince infidelity ſo much abounds,
" you would, not only by cloſe and ſerious
" conſideration, endeavour to ſettle yourſelf
" well in the fundamental principles of reli-
" gion, but alſo that, as opportunity offers,
" you would converſe with thoſe books which
" treat moſt judiciouſly on the divine original
" of Chriſtianity, ſuch as Grotius, Abadie,
" Baxter, Bates, Du Pleſſis, &c. which may
" eſtabliſh you againſt the cavils that occur in
" almoſt all converſations, and furniſh you
" with arguments, which, when properly of-
" fered, may be of uſe to make ſome impreſ-
" ſions on others. But being too much

" ſtraitened to enlarge at preſent, I can only
" add, that if your hearty falling in with ſe-
" rious religion ſhould prove any hindrance
" to your advancement in the world, (which
" I pray God it may not, unleſs ſuch advance-
" ment would be a real ſnare to you,) I hope
" you will truſt our Saviour's word, that it
" ſhall be no diſadvantage to you in the final
" iſſue: He has given you his word for it,
" Mat. xix. 29. upon which you may ſafe-
" ly depend; and I am ſatisfied, none that e-
" ver did ſo, at laſt repented of it. May you
" go on and proſper, and the God of all grace
" and peace be with you!"

§ 49. I think it very evident from the contents of this letter, that the major had not imparted to his mother the moſt ſingular circumſtances attending his converſion: And, indeed, there was ſomething ſo peculiar in them, that I do not wonder he was always cautious in ſpeaking of them, and, eſpecially, that he was at firſt much on the reſerve. We may alſo naturally reflect, that there ſeems to have been ſomething very providential in this letter, conſidering the debate in which our illuſtrious convert was ſo ſoon engaged; for it was written but about three weeks before his conference with the Lady above mentioned,

in the defence of Chriſtianity; or, at leaſt, before the appointment of it. And as ſome of the books recommended by Dr Calamy, particularly Abadie and Du Pleſſis, were undoubtedly within his reach, (if our Engliſh advocates were not), this might, by the divine bleſſing, contribute conſiderably towards arming him for that combat, in which he came off with ſuch happy ſucceſs. And as in this inſtance, ſo in many others, they who will obſerve the coincidence and concurrence of things, may be engaged to adore the wiſe conduct of Providence in events which, when taken ſingly and by themſelves, have nothing very remarkable in them.

§ 50. I think it was about this time that this reſolute and exemplary Chriſtian entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he purſued through ſo many ſucceeding years of life, and I believe, generally, ſo far as the broken ſtate of his health would allow it in his latter days, to the very end of it. He uſed conſtantly to riſe at four in the morning, and to ſpend his time till ſix, in the ſecret exerciſes of devotion, reading, meditation, and prayer; in which laſt he contracted ſuch a fervency of ſpirit, as I believe few men living ever obtained. This certainly tended very

much to ſtrengthen that firm faith in God, and reverend animating ſenſe of his preſence, for which he was ſo eminently remarkable, and which carried him through the trials and ſervices of life, with ſuch ſteadineſs, and with ſuch activity; for he indeed endured, and acted as always ſeeing him who is inviſible. If at any time he was obliged to go out before ſix in the morning, he roſe proportionably ſooner; ſo that when a journey or a march has required him to be on horſeback by four, he would be at his devotions at fartheſt by two. He likewiſe ſecured time for retirement in an evening; and that he might have it the more at command, and be the more fit to uſe it properly, as well as the better able to riſe early the next morning, he generally went to bed about ten: And, during the time I was acquainted with him, he ſeldom eat any ſupper, but a mouthful of bread with one glaſs of wine. In conſequence of this, as well as of his admirably good conſtitution, and the long habit he had formed, he required leſs ſleep than moſt perſons I have known: And I doubt not but his uncommon progreſs in piety was in a great meaſure owing to theſe reſolute habits of ſelf-denial.

§ 51. A life any thing like this, could not, to be ſure, be entered upon, in the midſt

of ſuch company as he had been accuſtomed to keep, without great oppoſition; eſpecially as he did not entirely withdraw himſelf from cheerful converſation; but, on the contrary, gave ſeveral hours every day to it, leſt religion ſhould be reproached, as having made him moroſe. He, however, early began a practice, which to the laſt day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and prophaneneſs; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the conſciouſneſs of ſuch ſuperiority in the goodneſs of his cauſe.

§ 52. A remarkable inſtance of this happened, if I miſtake not, about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the ſtory. It was, however, on his firſt return to make any conſiderable abode in England after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other ſide of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was ſtark mad; a report at which no reader who knows the wiſdom of the world in theſe matters will be much ſurpriſed, any more than himſelf. He concluded, therefore, that he ſhould have many battles to fight, and was willing to diſpatch the buſineſs as faſt as he could. And therefore, being to ſpend a few days at the coun-

try houſe of a perſon of diſtinguiſhed rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whoſe name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think proper to inquire after it), he begged the favour of him, that he would contrive matters ſo, that a day or two after he came down, ſeveral of their former gay companions might meet at his Lordſhip's table, that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reaſons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of raillery paſſed at dinner, to which the Major made very little anſwer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the ſervants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and ſeriouſly told them, what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what conſiderations he had abſolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and buſineſs of life, whatever he might loſe by it, and whatever cenſure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in ſuch company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened;

which they would probably have interpreted to a demonſtration of lunacy, againſt all the gravity and ſolidity of his diſcourſe: But he contented himſelf with ſuch a rational defence of a righteous, ſober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any ſhadow of reaſon conteſt. He then challenged them to propoſe any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worſhip of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his goſpel. And he failed not to bear his teſtimony from his own experience, (to one part of which many of them had been witneſſes), that after having run the wideſt round of ſenſual pleaſure, with all the advantages the beſt conſtitution and ſpirits could give him, he had never taſted any thing that deſerved to be called happineſs, till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He teſtified calmly and boldly the habitual ſerenity and peace that he now felt in his breaſt, (for the moſt elevated delights he did not think fit to plead, leſt they ſhould be eſteemed enthuſiaſm), and the compoſure and pleaſure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayeſt ſinner muſt acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful.

§ 53. I know not what might be attempted by ſome of the company in anſwer to this; but I well remember he told me, the maſter of the table, a perſon of a very frank and candid diſpoſition, cut ſhort the debate, and ſaid, "Come, let us all call another cauſe: We "thought this man mad, and he is in good "earneſt proving that we are ſo." On the whole, this well judged circumſtance ſaved him a great deal of trouble. When his former acquaintance obſerved, that he was ſtill converſable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immoveable in his reſolutions, they deſiſted from farther importunity. And he has aſſured me, that inſtead of loſing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himſelf much more eſteemed and regarded by many who could not perſuade themſelves to imitate his example.

§ 54. I have not any memoirs of Colonel Gardiner's life, or of any other remarkable event befalling him in it, from the time of his return to England, till his marriage in the year 1726, except the extracts which have been ſent me from ſome letters, which he wrote to his religious friends during this interval, and which I cannot paſs by without a more particular notice. It may be recollected, that

in conſequence of the reduction of that regiment, of which he was major, he was out of commiſſion from Nov. 10th 1718, till June 1ſt 1724: And after he returned from Paris, I find all his letters during this period dated from London, where he continued in communion with the Chriſtian ſociety under the paſtoral care of Doctor Calamy. As his good mother alſo belonged to the ſame, it is eaſy to imagine, it muſt be an unſpeakable pleaſure to her to have ſuch frequent opportunities of converſing with ſuch a ſon, of obſerving in his daily conduct and diſcourſes the bleſſed effects of that change which divine grace had made in his heart, and of ſitting down with him monthly at that ſacred feaſt, where Chriſtians ſo frequently enjoy the divineſt entertainments which they expect on this ſide heaven. I the rather mention this ordinance, becauſe, as this excellent lady had a very high eſteem for it, ſo ſhe had an opportunity of attending but the very Lord's day immediately preceding her death, which happened on Thurſday Oct. 7. 1725, after her ſon had been removed from her almoſt a year. He had maintained her handſomely out of that very moderate income on which he ſubſiſted ſince his regiment had been diſbanded; and when ſhe expreſſed her gratitude to him

for it, he assured her, (I think, in one of the last letters she ever received from him), "that "he esteemed it a great honour, that God put "it into his power to make" what he called "a very small acknowledgement of all her "care for him, and especially of the many "prayers she had offered on his account, which "had already been remarkably answered, and "the benefit of which he hoped ever to "enjoy."

§ 55. I apprehend that the Earl of Stairs's regiment, to the majority of which he was promoted on the 20th of July 1724, was then quartered in Scotland; for all the letters in my hand, from that time to the 6th of February 1726, are dated from thence, and particularly from Douglas, Stranraer, Hamilton, and Ayr; but I have the pleasure to find, from comparing these with others of an earlier date from London and the neighbouring parts, that neither the detriment which he must suffer by being so long out of commission, nor the hurry of affairs while charged with it, could prevent or interrupt that intercourse with heaven, which was his daily feast, and his daily strength.

§ 56. These were most eminently the happy years of his life; for he had learned to esti-

mate his happineſs, not by the increaſe of honour, or the poſſeſſion of wealth, or by what was much dearer to his generous heart than either, the converſe of the neareſt and worthieſt human friends, but by nearneſs to God, and by opportunities of humble converſe with him, in the lively exerciſe of contemplation, praiſe, and prayer. Now, there was no period of his life in which he was more eminently favoured with theſe; nor do I find any of his letters ſo overflowing with tranſports of holy joy, as thoſe which were dated during this time. There are indeed in ſome of them ſuch very ſublime paſſages, that I have been dubious whether I ſhould communicate them to the public or not, leſt I ſhould adminiſter matter of profane ridicule to ſome, who look upon all the elevations of devotion as contemptible enthuſiaſm. And it has alſo given me ſome apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould diſcourage ſome pious Chriſtians, who after having ſpent ſeveral years in the ſervice of God, and in humble obedience to the precepts of his goſpel, may not have attained to any ſuch heights as theſe. But, on the whole, I cannot ſatisfy myſelf to ſuppreſs them, not only as I number ſome of them, conſidered in a devotional view, among the moſt extraordinary pieces of

the kind I have ever met with; but as ſome of the moſt excellent and judicious perſons I any where know, to whom I have read them, have aſſured me, that they felt their hearts in an unuſual manner impreſſed, quickened, and edified by them.

§ 57. I will therefore draw back the veil, and ſhew my much honoured friend in his moſt ſecret receſſes, that the world may ſee what thoſe ſprings were from whence iſſued that clear, permanent, and living ſtream of wiſdom, piety, and virtue, which ſo apparently ran through all that part of his life which was open to public obſervation. It is not to be imagined, that letters written in the intimacy of Chriſtian friendſhip, ſome of them with the moſt apparent marks of haſte, and amidſt a variety of important public cares, ſhould be adorned with any ſtudied elegance of expreſſion, about which the greatneſs of his ſoul would not allow him to be at any time very ſolicitous; for he generally (ſo far as I could obſerve) wrote as faſt as his pen could move, which, happily both for him and his many friends, was very freely. Yet here the grandeur of his ſubject has ſometimes clothed his ideas with a language more elevated, than is ordinarily to be expected in an epiſtolary cor-

reſpondence. The proud ſcorners, who may deride ſentiments and enjoyments like thoſe which this truly great man ſo experimentally and pathetically deſcribes, I pity from my heart; and grieve to think how unfit they muſt be for the hallelujahs of heaven, who pour contempt upon the neareſt approaches to them: Nor ſhall I think it any misfortune to ſhare with ſo excellent a perſon in their profane deriſion. It will be infinitely more than an equivalent for all that ſuch ignorance and petulancy can think and ſay, if I may convince ſome who are as yet ſtrangers to religion, how real, and how noble its delight are; if I may engage my pious readers to glorify God for ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of his grace; and finally, if I may quicken them, and above all may rouſe my own too indulgent ſpirit to follow with leſs unequal ſteps an example, to the ſublimity of which I fear few of us ſhall after all be able fully to attain. And that we may not be too much diſcouraged under the deficiency, let it be recollected, that few have the advantage of a temper naturally ſo warm: few have an equal command of retirement; and perhaps hardly any one, who thinks himſelf moſt indebted to the riches and freedom of divine grace, can trace interpoſitions of it in all reſpects equally aſtoniſhing.

§ 58. The firſt of theſe extraordinary letters which have fallen into my hand is dated near three years after his converſion, and addreſſed to a lady of quality. I believe it is the firſt the Major ever wrote ſo immediately on the ſubject of his religious conſolations and converſe with God in devout retirement. For I well remember, that he once told me, he was ſo much afraid that ſomething of ſpiritual pride ſhould mingle itſelf with the relation of ſuch kind of experiences, that he concealed them a long time: But obſerving with how much freedom the ſacred writers open all the moſt ſecret receſſes of their hearts, eſpecially in the Pſalms, his conſcience began to be burthened, under an apprehenſion, that, for the honour of God, and in order to engage the concurrent praiſes of ſome of his people, he ought to diſcloſe them. On this he ſet himſelf to reflect, who among all his numerous acquaintance ſeemed at once the moſt experienced Chriſtian he knew, (to whom therefore ſuch things as he had to communicate might appear ſolid and credible), and who the humbleſt. He quickly thought of the Lady Marchioneſs of Douglas in this view; and the reader may well imagine, that it ſtruck my mind very ſtrongly, to think that now, more

than 24 years after it was written, Providence ſhould bring to my hands, (as it has done within theſe few days), what I aſſuredly believe to be a genuine copy of that very letter, which I had not the leaſt reaſon to expect I ſhould ever have ſeen, when I learned from his own mouth, amidſt the freedom of an accidental converſation, the occaſion and circumſtances of it.

§ 59. It is dated from London, July 21. 1722; and the very firſt lines of it relate to a remarkable circumſtance, which, from others of his letters, I find has happened ſeveral times. I mean, that when he had received from any of his Chriſtian friends a few lines which particularly affected his heart, he could not ſtay till the ſtated return of his devotional hour, but immediately retired to pray for them, and to give vent to thoſe religious emotions of mind which ſuch a correſpondence raiſed. How invaluable was ſuch a friend! and how great reaſon have thoſe of us who once poſſeſſed a large ſhare in his heart, and in thoſe retired and ſacred moments, to bleſs God for ſo ſingular a felicity; and to comfort ourſelves in a pleaſing hope, that we may yet reap future bleſſings, as the harveſt of thoſe petitions which he can no more repeat.

§ 60. His words are theſe: "I was ſo hap-
"py as to receive your's juſt as I arrived; and
"I had no ſooner read it, but I ſhut my door,
"and ſought him whom my ſoul loveth. I
"ſought him, and found him; and would
"not let him go till he had bleſſed us all. It
"is impoſſible to find words to expreſs what
"I obtained; but I ſuppoſe it was ſomething
"like that which the diſciples got, as they
"were going to Emmaus, when they ſaid,
"Did not our hearts burn within us? &c. or
"rather like what Paul felt, when he could
"not tell whether he was in the body or out
"of it." He then mentions his dread of ſpi-
ritual pride, from which he earneſtly prays
that God may deliver and preſerve him.
"This," ſays he, "would have hindered me
"from communicating theſe things, if I had
"not ſuch an example before me as the man
"after God's own heart, ſaying, I will de-
"clare what God hath done for my ſoul; and
"elſewhere, The humble ſhall hear thereof,
"and be glad: Now I am well ſatisfied that
"your ladyſhip is of that number." He then
adds, "I had no ſooner finiſhed this exerciſe,"
that is, of prayer above mentioned, "but I
"ſat down to admire the goodneſs of my God,
"that he would vouchſafe to influence, by his

" free Spirit, ſo undeſerving a wretch as I, and " to make me thus to mount up with eagles " wings. And here I was loſt again, and got " into an ocean, where I could find neither " bound nor bottom; but was obliged to cry " out with the apoſtle, 'O the breadth, the " length, the depth, the heighth, of the love " of Chriſt, which paſſeth knowledge!' But " if I give way to this ſtrain, I ſhall never " have done. That the God of hope may fill " you with all joy and peace in believing that " you may abound in hope through the power " of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall always be the " prayer of him, who is, with the greateſt " ſincerity and reſpect, your Ladyſhip's, &c."

§ 61. Another paſſage to the ſame purpoſe, I find in a memorandum, which he ſeems to have written for his own uſe, dated, Monday March 11, which I perceive, from many concurrent circumſtances, muſt have been in the year 1722-3. " This day," ſays he, " having been " to viſit Mrs G. at Hamſtead, I came home " about two, and read a ſermon on theſe " words, Pſal. cxxx. 4. *But there is forgiveneſs " with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared;* about " the latter end of which there is a deſcription " of the miſerable condition of thoſe that are " ſlighters of pardoning grace. From a ſenſe of " the great obligations I lay under to the Al-

" mighty God, who hath made me to differ " from ſuch, from what I was, and from the " reſt of my companions, I kneeled down to " praiſe his holy name; and I know not that in " my lifetime I ever lay lower in the duſt, ne- " ver having had a fuller view of my own un- " worthineſs. I never pleaded more ſtrongly " the merits and interceſſion of him who I know " is worthy; never vowed more ſincerely to be " the Lord's, and to accept of Chriſt as he is " offered in the goſpel, as my king, prieſt, and " prophet; never had ſo ſtrong a deſire to de- " part, that I might ſin no more; but—'my " grace is ſufficient'—curbed that deſire. I " never pleaded with greater fervency for the " Comforter, which, our bleſſed Lord hath pro- " miſed, ſhall abide with us for ever. For all " which I deſire to aſcribe glory, &c. to Him " that ſitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb."

§ 62. There are ſeveral others of his papers which ſpeak much the ſame language; which, had he kept a diary, would, (I doubt not), have filled many ſheets. I believe my devout readers would not ſoon be weary of reading extracts of this kind. But that I may not exceed in this part of my narrative, I ſhall mention only two more, each of them dated ſome years after; that is, one from Douglas, April 1. 1725; and the other from Stranraer, 25th May following.

§ 63. The former of these relates to the frame of his spirit on a journey; on the mention of which I cannot but recollect how often I have heard him say, that some of the most delightful days of his life were days in which he travelled alone, (that is, with only a servant at a distance); when he could, especially in roads not much frequented, indulge himself in the pleasures of prayer and praise; in the exercise of which last he was greatly assisted by several psalms and hymns, which he had treasured up in his memory, and which he used not only to repeat aloud, but sometimes to sing. In reference to this, I remember the following passage, in a letter which he wrote to me many years after, when, on mentioning my ever dear and honoured friend the Rev. Dr Watts, he says, "How often, in singing some of his "psalms, hymns, or lyrics, on horseback, and "elsewhere, has the evil spirit been made to "flee,

"Whene'er my heart in tune is found,
"Like David's harp of solemn sound!"

§ 64. Such was the first of April above mentioned, in the evening of which he writes thus to an intimate friend: "What would I "have given this day upon the road, for paper, "pen, and ink, when the Spirit of the Most "High rested upon me! O for the pen of a

" ready writer, and the tongue of an angel, to " declare what God hath done this day for " my ſoul! But in ſhort, it is in vain to at- " tempt it: All that I am able to ſay, is only " this, that my ſoul has been for ſome hours " joining with the bleſſed ſpirits above, in giv- " ing glory, and honour, aud praiſe, unto Him " that ſitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, " for ever and ever. My praiſes began from " a renewed view of him whom I ſaw pierc- " ed for my tranſgreſſions. I ſummoned the " whole hierarchy of heaven to join with me; " and I am perſuaded they all echoed back " praiſe to the Moſt High. Yea, one would " have thought, the very larks joined me " with emulation. Sure then I need not make " uſe of many words, to perſuade you that " are his ſaints, to join me in bleſſing and " praiſing his holy name." He concludes, " May the bleſſing of the God of Jacob reſt " upon you all! Adieu. Written in great " haſte, late, and weary."

§ 65. Scarce can I here refrain from break- ing out into more copious reflections on the exquiſite pleaſures of true religion, when riſen to ſuch eminent degrees, which can thus feaſt the ſoul in its ſolitude, and refreſh it on jour- nies; and bring down ſo much of heaven to earth as this delightful letter expreſſes. But the

remark is ſo obvious, that I will not enlarge upon it; but to proceed to the other letter above mentioned, which was written the next month, on the Thurſday after a ſacrament day.

§ 66. He mentions the pleaſure with which he had attended a preparation ſermon the Saturday before; and then he adds, "I took a "walk upon the mountains that are over a "gainſt Ireland; and I perſuade myſelf, that "were I capable of giving you a deſcription "of what paſſed there, you would agree that "I had much better reaſon to remember my "God from the hills of Port Patrick, than "David from the land of Jordan, and of the "Hermonites from the hill Mizar." I ſuppoſe he means in reference to the clearer diſcoveries of the goſpel with which we are favoured. "In ſhort," ſays he immediately afterwards, in that ſcripture phraſe which was become ſo familiar to him, "I wreſtled ſome hours "with the Angel of the covenant, and made "ſupplications to him with floods of tears and "cries,—until I had almoſt expired: But he "ſtrengthened me ſo, that like Jacob, I had "power with God, and prevailed. This," adds he, "is but a very faint deſcription: You "will be more able to judge of it by what you "have felt yourſelf upon the like occaſions. "After ſuch preparatory work, I need not tell

"you how bleſſed the ſolemn ordinance of the "Lord's ſupper proved to me; I hope it was ſo "to many. You may believe, I ſhould have "been exceeding glad, if my gracious Lord "had ordered it ſo, that I might have made "you a viſit, as I propoſed: But I am now "glad it was ordered otherwiſe, ſince he hath "cauſed ſo much of his goodneſs to paſs be-"fore me. Were I to give you an account of "the many favours my God hath loaded "me with, ſince I parted from you, I muſt "have taken up many days in nothing "but writing. I hope you will join with me "in praiſes for all the goodneſs he has ſhewn "to your unworthy brother in the Lord."

§ 67. Such were the ardours and elevations of his ſoul: But while I record theſe memorials of them, I am very ſenſible there are many who will be inclined to cenſure them, as the flights of enthuſiaſm; for which reaſon I muſt beg leave to add a remark or two on the occaſion, which will be illuſtrated by ſeveral other extracts, which I ſhall introduce into the ſequel of theſe memoirs. The one is, that he never pretends, in any of the paſſages cited above, or elſewhere, to have received any immediate revelations from God, which ſhould raiſe him above the ordinary methods of inſtruction, or diſcover any thing to him, whether of doctrines

or facts. No man was farther from pretending to predict future events, except it were from the moral prognoſtications of cauſes naturally tending to produce them; in tracing of which he had indeed an admirable ſagacity, as I have ſeen in ſome very remarkable inſtances. Neither was he at all inclinable to govern himſelf by ſecret impulſes upon his mind, leading him to things for which he could aſſign no reaſon but the impulſe itſelf. Had he ventured, in a preſumption on ſuch ſecret agitations of mind, to teach or to do any thing not warranted by the dictates of ſound ſenſe, and the word of God, I ſhould readily have acknowledged him an enthuſiaſt, unleſs he could have produced ſome other evidence than his own perſuaſion to have ſupported the authority of them. But theſe ardent expreſſions, which ſome may call enthuſiaſm, ſeem only to evidence a heart deeply affected with a ſenſe of the divine preſence and perfections, and of that love which paſſeth knowledge; eſpecially as manifeſted in our redemption by the ſon of God, which did indeed inflame his whole ſoul. And he thought he might reaſonably aſcribe the ſtrong impreſſions, to which men are generally ſuch ſtrangers, and of which he had long been entirely deſtitute, to the agency or influence of the Spirit of God upon his heart; and that in pro-

portion to the degree in which he felt them, he might properly ſay, God was preſent with him, and he converſed with God *. Now, when we conſider the ſcriptural phraſes of walking with God, of having communion with the Father and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, of Chriſt's coming to them that open the door of their hearts to him, and ſupping with them, of God's ſhedding abroad his love in the heart by his Spirit, of his coming with Jeſus Chriſt and making his abode with any man that loves him, of his melting him that worketh right-couſneſs, of his making us glad by the light of his countenance, and a variety of other equi-

* The ingenious and pious Mr Grove (who I think was as little ſuſpected of running into enthuſiaſtical extremes as moſt divines I could name,) has a noble paſſage to this purpoſe in the ſixth volume of his poſthumous works, p. 40, 41. which reſpect to the memory of both theſe excellent perſons, inclines me to inſert here. "How often are good thoughts ſuggeſted," (viz. to the pure in heart), "heavenly affections kindled and inflamed! How often is the Chriſtian prompted to holy actions, drawn to his duty, reſtored, quickened, perſuaded, in ſuch a manner, that he would be unjuſt to the Spirit of God to queſtion his agency in the whole? Yes, Oh my ſoul, there is a Supreme Being, who governs the world, and is preſent with it, who takes up his more ſpecial habitation in good men, and is nigh to all who call upon him, to ſanctify and aſſiſt them! Haſt thou not felt him, oh my ſoul, like another ſoul, actuating thy faculties, exalting thy faculties, exalting thy views, purifying thy paſſions, exciting thy graces, and begetting in thee an abhorrence of ſin, and a love of holineſs? And is not all this an argument of his preſence, as truly as if thou didſt ſee him?"

valent expreſſions; I believe we ſhall ſee reaſon to judge much more favourably of ſuch expreſſions as thoſe now in queſtion, than perſons who are themſelves ſtrangers to elevated devotion, and perhaps converſe but little with their bible, are inclined to do; eſpecially if they have, as many ſuch perſons have, a temper that inclines them to cavil and find fault. And I muſt farther obſerve, that amidſt all thoſe freedoms, with which this eminent Chriſtian opens his devout heart to the moſt intimate of his friends, he ſtill ſpeaks with profound awe and reverence of his heavenly father, and his ſaviour, and maintains (after the example of the ſacred writers themſelves,) a kind of dignity in his expreſſions, ſuitable to ſuch a ſubject; without any of that fond familiarity of language, and degrading meanneſs of phraſe, by which it is, eſpecially of late, grown faſhionable among ſome, (who nevertheleſs I believe mean well), to expreſs their love and their humility.

§ 68. On the whole, if habitual love to God, firm faith in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, a ſteady dependence on the divine promiſes, a full perſuaſion of the wiſdom and goodneſs of all the diſpenſations of providence, a high eſteem for the bleſſings of the heavenly world, and a ſincere contempt for the vanities of this,

can properly be called enthuſiaſm; then was Colonel Gardiner indeed one of the greateſt enthuſiaſts our age has produced; and in proportion to the degree in which he was ſo, I muſt eſteem him one of the wiſeſt and happieſt of mankind; nor do I fear to tell the world, that it is the deſign of my writing theſe memoirs, and of every thing elſe that I undertake in life, to ſpread this glorious and bleſſed enthuſiaſm; which I know to be the anticipation of heaven, as well as the moſt certain way to it.

§ 69. But leſt any ſhould poſſibly imagine, that allowing the experiences which have been deſcribed above, to have been ever ſo ſolid and important, yet there may be ſome appearance of boaſting in ſo free a communication of them; I muſt add to what I have hinted in reference to this above, that I find in many of the papers before me very genuine expreſſions of the deepeſt humility and ſelf-abaſement; which indeed ſuch holy converſe with God in prayer and praiſe does, above all things in the world, tend to inſpire and promote. Thus, in one of his letters, he ſays, "I am but as a beaſt before him." In another, he calls himſelf "a miſerable hell-deſerving ſinner:" And in another, he cries out, "Oh, how good a maſter do I ſerve! but alas, "how ungrateful am I! What can be ſo aſto-

" niſhing as the love of Chriſt to us, unleſs it " be the coldneſs of our ſinful hearts towards " ſuch a Saviour?" With many other clauſes of the like nature, which I ſhall not ſet myſelf more particularly to trace through the variety of letters in which they occur.

§ 70. It is a farther inſtance of this unfeigned humility, that when, (as his lady, with her uſual propriety of language, expreſſes it, in one of her letters to me concerning him), " theſe " divine joys and conſolations were not his " daily allowance," he, with equal freedom, in the confidence of Chriſtian friendſhip, acknowledges and laments it. Thus, in the firſt letter I had the honour of receiving from him, dated from Leiceſter, July 9. 1739, when he had been mentioning the bleſſing with which it had pleaſed God to attend my laſt addreſs to him, and the influence it had upon his mind, he adds, " Much do I ſtand in need of every help, to " awaken me out of that ſpiritual deadneſs, " which ſeizes me ſo often. Once indeed it " was quite otherwiſe with me, and that for " many years:

" Firm was my health, my day was bright,
" And I preſum'd 'twould ne'er be night:
" Fondly I ſaid within my heart,
" Pleaſure and peace ſhall ne'er depart,

" But I forgot: Thine arm was ſtrong,
" Which made my mountain ſtand ſo long:
" Soon as thy face began to hide,
" My health was gone, my comforts died.

" And here," adds he," lies my ſin, and my " folly.

§ 71. I mention this, that the whole matter may be ſeen juſt as it was, and that other Chriſtians may not be diſcouraged, if they feel ſome abatement of that fervour, and of thoſe holy joys, which they may have experienced during ſome of the firſt months or years of their ſpiritual life. But with relation to the Colonel, I have great reaſon to believe that theſe which he laments, as his days of ſpiritual deadneſs were not unanimated; and, that quickly after the date of this letter, and eſpecially nearer the cloſe of his life, he had farther revivings, as the joyful anticipation of thoſe better things in reſerve, which were then nearly approaching. And thus Mr Spears, in the letter I mentioned above, tells us he related the matter to him; (for he ſtudies as much as poſſible to retain the Colonel's own words): " However," ſays he, " after that hap- " py period of ſenſible communion, though " my joys and enlargements were not ſo over- " flowing and ſenſible, yet I have had habitual " real communion with God from that day to

" this;" the latter end of the year 1733; " and " I know myſelf, and all that know me ſee, " that through the grace of God, to which I " aſcribe all, my converſation has been be- " coming the goſpel; and let me die, when- " ever it ſhall pleaſe God, or wherever it " ſhall be, I am ſure I ſhall go to the man- " ſions of eternal glory, &c." And this is perfectly agreeable to the manner in which he uſed to ſpeak to me on this head, which we have talked over frequently and largely.

§ 72. In this connection, I hope my reader will forgive my inſerting a little ſtory which I received from a very worthy miniſter in Scotland, and which I ſhall give in his own words: " In this period," meaning that which followed the firſt ſeven years after his conver- ſion, " when his complaint of comparative " deadneſs and languor in religion began, he " had a dream, which, though he had no turn " at all for taking notice of dreams, yet made " a very ſtrong impreſſion upon his mind. " He imagined that he ſaw his bleſſed Re- " deemer on earth, and that he was following " him through a large field, following him " whom his ſoul loved, but much troubled, " becauſe he thought his bleſſed Lord did not " ſpeak to him; till he came up to a gate " of a burying place, when, turning about, he

" ſmiled upon him in ſuch a manner as filled " his ſoul with the moſt raviſhing joy; and, " on after reflection, animated his faith in be- " lieving that whatever ſtorms and darkneſs " he might meet with in the way at the hour " of death, his glorious Redeemer would lift " up upon him the light of his life-giving " countenance." My correſpondent adds a circumſtance, for which he makes ſome apology, as what may ſeem whimſical, and yet made ſome impreſſion on himſelf; " that " there was a remarkable reſemblance in the " field in which this brave man met death, " and that he had repreſented to him in the " dream." I did not fully underſtand this at firſt; but a paſſage in that letter from Mr Spears, which I have mentioned more than once, has cleared it. " Now obſerve, Sir, " this ſeems to be a literal deſcription of " the place where this Chriſtian hero ended " his ſorrows and conflicts, and from which " he entered triumphantly into the joy of his " Lord. For after he fell in battle, fighting " glorioufly for his king and the cauſe of his " God, his wounded body, while life was yet " remaining, was carried from the field of " battle by the eaſt ſide of his own incloſure, " till he came to the church yard of Tranent, " and was brought to the miniſter's houſe;

" where he ſoon after breathed out his ſoul in-
" to the hands of his Lord, and was conducted
" to his preſence, where there is fullneſs of joy,
" without any cloud or interruption, for ever."

§ 73. I well know, that in dreams there are diverſe vanities, and readily acknowledge that nothing certain could be inferred from this: Yet it ſeems at leaſt to ſhew which way the imagination was working even in ſleep; and I cannot think it unworthy of a wiſe and good man ſometimes to reflect with complacency on any images, which paſſing through his mind even in that ſtate, may tend either to expreſs or to quicken his love to the great Saviour. Thoſe eminently pious divines of the church of England, Biſhop Bull and Biſhop Kenn, do both intimate it as their opinion, that it may be a part of the ſervice of miniſtering angels to ſuggeſt devout dreams*: And I know that the worthy perſon of whom I ſpeak was well acquainted with that midnight hymn of the latter of thoſe excellent writers, which has theſe lines:

* Biſhop Bull has theſe remarkable words; " Although " I am no doater on dreams, yet I verily believe that ſome " dreams are monitory above the power of fancy, and im- " preſſed upon us by ſome ſuperior influence. For of ſuch " dreams we have plain and undeniable inſtances in hiſto- " ry, both ſacred and profane, and in our own age and ob- " ſervation. Nor ſhall I ſo value the laughter of ſceptics, " and the ſcoffs of the Epicureans, as to be aſhamed to pro- " feſs that I myſelf have had ſome convincing experiments " of ſuch impreſſions. Biſhop Bull's Ser. and Diſc. vol. II, " p. 489, 490."

" Lord, leſt the tempter me ſurpriſe,
" Watch over thine own ſacrifice!
" All looſe, all idle thoughts caſt out;
" And make my very dreams devout!"

Nor would it be difficult to produce other paſſages much to the ſame purpoſe *, if it would not be deemed too great a digreſſion from our ſubject, and too laboured a vindication of a little incident, of very ſmall importance, when compared with moſt of thoſe which make up this narrative.

§ 74. I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726, when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the Right Honourable the Lady Francis Erſkine, daughter to the lat Earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which ſurvived their father, two ſons and three daughters; whom I cannot mention

* If I miſtake not, the ſame Biſhop Kenn is the author of a midnight hymn, concluding with theſe words:

" May my ethereal Guardian kindly ſpread
" His wings, and from the tempter ſcreen my head;
" Grant of celeſtial light ſome piercing beams,
" To bleſs my ſleep, and ſanctify my dreams!"

As he certainly was of thoſe exactly parallel lines:

" Oh may my Guardian, while I ſleep,
" Cloſe to my bed his vigils keep;
" His love angelical inſtill,
" Stop all the avenues of ill!
" May he celeſtial joys rehearſe,
" And thought to thought with me converſe!"

without the moſt fervent prayers to God for them, that they may always behave worthy the honour of being deſcended from ſuch parents; and that the God of their father, and of their mother, may make them perpetually the care of his providence, and yet more eminently happy in the conſtant and abundant influences of his grace!

§ 75. As her Ladyſhip is ſtill living, (and for the ſake of her dear offſpring and numerous friends, may ſhe long be ſpared), I ſhall not here indulge myſelf in ſaying any thing of her; except it be, that the Colonel aſſured me, when he had been happy in this infinite relation to her more than fourteen years, that the greateſt imperfection he knew in her character was, "that ſhe valued and loved him "much more than he deſerved." And little did he think, in the ſimplicity of heart with which he ſpoke this, how high an encomium he was making upon her, and how laſting an honour ſuch a teſtimony muſt leave upon her name, long as the memory of it ſhall continue.

§ 76. As I do not intend theſe memoirs a laboured eſſay on the character of Colonel Gardiner, digeſted under the various virtues and graces which Chriſtianity requires, (which would, I think, be a little too formal for a work of this kind, and would give it ſuch an

air of panegyric, as would neither ſuit my deſign, nor be at all likely to render it more uſeful); I ſhall now mention what I have either obſerved in him, or heard concerning him, with regard to thoſe domeſtic relations, which commenced about this time, or quickly after. And here my reader will eaſily conclude, that the reſolution of Joſhua, was from the firſt adopted and declared, "As for me and my houſe, "we will ſerve the Lord." It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that as ſoon as he had a houſe, he erected an altar in it; that the word of God was read there, and prayers and praiſes were conſtantly offered. Theſe were not to be omitted, on account of any gueſt; for he eſteemed it a part of due reſpect to thoſe that remained under his roof, to take it for granted they would look upon it as a very bad compliment, to imagine they would have been obliged, by neglecting the duties of religion on their account. As his family increaſed, he had a miniſter ſtatedly reſident in his houſe, who both diſcharged the office of a tutor to his children and of a chaplain, and who was always treated with a becoming kindneſs and reſpect. But in his abſence, the Colonel himſelf led the devotions of the family; and they were happy who had an opportunity of know-

ing with how much ſolemnity, fervour and propriety he did it.

§ 77. He was conſtant in attendance upon public worſhip, in which an exemplary care was taken, that the children and ſervants might accompany the heads of the family. And how he would have reſented the non-attendance of any member of it, may eaſily be conjectured, from a free, but lively paſſage in a letter to one of his intimate friends, on an occaſion which it is not material to mention: Oh, Sir, "had a "child of your's under my roof but once ne-"gleƈted the public worſhip of God, when he "was able to attend it, I ſhould have been "ready to conclude he had been diſtraƈted, "and ſhould have thought of ſhaving his head, "and confining him in a dark room."

§ 78. He always treated his lady with a manly tenderneſs, giving her the moſt natural evidences of a cordial habitual eſteem, and expreſſing a moſt affeƈtionate ſympathy with her, under the infirmities of a very delicate conſtitution, much broken, at leaſt towards the latter years of their marriage, in conſequence of ſo frequent pregnancy. He had at all times a moſt faithful care of all her intereſts, and eſpecially thoſe relating to the ſtate of religion in her mind. His converſation and his letters concurred to cheriſh thoſe ſublime ideas which

Chriſtianity ſuggeſts; to promote our ſubmiſſion to the will of God, to teach us to centre our happineſs in the great Author of our being, and to live by faith in the inviſible world. Theſe, no doubt, were frequently the ſubjects of mutual diſcourſe; and many letters, which her Ladyſhip has had the goodneſs to communicate to me, are moſt convincing evidences of the degree in which this noble and moſt friendly care filled his mind in the days of their ſeparation; days, which ſo entire a mutual affection muſt have rendered exceeding painful, had they not been ſupported by ſuch exalted ſentiments of piety, and ſweetened by daily communion with an ever preſent and ever gracious God.

§ 79. The neceſſity of being ſo many months together diſtant from his family hindered him from many of thoſe condeſcending labours in cultivating the minds of his children in early life, which to a ſoul ſo benevolent, ſo wiſe, and ſo zealous, would undoubtedly have afforded a very exquiſite pleaſure. The care of his worthy conſort, who well knew that it is one of the brighteſt parts of a mother's character, and one of the moſt important views in which the ſex can be conſidered, made him the eaſier under ſuch a circumſtance: But when he was

with them, he failed not to inſtruct and admoniſh them; and the conſtant deep ſenſe with which he ſpoke of divine things, and the real unaffected indifference which he always ſhewed for what this vain world is moſt ready to admire, were excellent leſſons of daily wiſdom, which I hope they will recollect with advantage in every future ſcene of life. And I have ſeen ſuch hints in his letters relating to them, as plainly ſhew with how great a weight they lay on his mind, and how highly he deſired above all things that they might be the faithful diſciples of Chriſt, and acquainted betimes with the unequalled pleaſures and bleſſings of religion. He thought an exceſs of delicacy and of indulgence one of the moſt dangerous faults in education, by which he every where ſaw great numbers of young people undone: Yet he was ſolicitous to guard againſt a ſeverity, which might terrify or diſcourage; and, though he endeavoured to take all prudent precautions to prevent the commiſſion of faults, yet, when they had been committed, and there ſeemed to be a ſenſe of them, he was always ready to make the moſt candid allowances for the thoughtfulneſs of unripened years, and tenderly to cheriſh every purpoſe of a more proper conduct for the time to come.

§ 80. It was eaſy to perceive, that the openings of genius in the young branches of his family gave him great delight, and that he had a ſecret ambition to ſee them excel in what they undertook. Yet he was greatly cautious over his heart, leſt it ſhould be too fondly attached to them; and as he was one of the moſt eminent proficients I ever knew in the bleſſed ſcience of reſignation to the divine will, ſo there was no effect of that reſignation which appeared to me more admirable than what related to the life of his children. An experience, which no length of time will ever efface out of my memory, has ſo ſenſibly taught me, how difficult it is fully to ſupport the Chriſtian character here, that I hope my reader will pardon me, (I am ſure at leaſt the heart of wounded parents will), if I dwell a little longer upon ſo intereſting a ſubject.

§ 81. When he was in Hereford-ſhire, in the month of July, in the year 1734, it pleaſed God to viſit his little family with the ſmall-pox. Five days before the date of the letter I am juſt going to mention, he had received the agreeable news, that there was a proſpect of the recovery of his ſon, then under that awful viſitation; and he had been expreſſing his thankfulneſs for it, in a letter which he had ſent away

but a few hours before he was informed of his death; the ſurpriſe of which, in this connection, muſt naturally be very great. But behold (ſays the reverend and worthy perſon from whom I received the copy) his truly filial ſubmiſſion to the will of his heavenly Father, in the following lines, addreſſed to the dear partner of his affliction: "Your reſignation to the "will of God under this diſpenſation gives me "more joy than the death of the child has "given me ſorrow. He, to be ſure, is happy; "and we ſhall go to him, though he ſhall not "return to us. Oh that we had our latter end "always in view!—We ſhall ſoon follow; and "oh what reaſon have we to long for that glo-"rious day, when we ſhall get quit of this bo-"dy of ſin and death, under which we now "groan, and which renders this life ſo wretch-"ed! I deſire to bleſs God, that —— [ano-"ther of his children] is in ſo good a way: "But I have reſigned her. We muſt not chooſe "for ourſelves, and it is well we muſt not, for "we ſhould often make a very bad choice. "And therefore it is our wiſdom, as well as "our duty, to leave all with a gracious God, "who hath promiſed that all things ſhall work "together for good to thoſe that love him: "And he is faithful that hath promiſed, who

"will infallibly perform it, if our unbelief "does not ſtand in the way."

§ 82. The greateſt trial of this kind that he ever bore, was in the removal of his ſecond ſon, who was one of the moſt amiable and promiſing children that has been known. The dear little creature was the darling of all that knew him; and promiſed very fair, ſo far as a child could be known by its doings, to have been a great ornament to the family, and bleſſing to the public. The ſuddenneſs of the ſtroke muſt, no doubt, render it the more painful; for this beloved child was ſnatched away by an illneſs which ſeized him but about fifteen hours before it carried him off. He died in the month of October 1733, at near ſix years old. Their friends were ready to fear that his affectionate parents would be almoſt overwhelmed with ſuch a loſs: But the happy father had ſo firm a perſuaſion, that God had received the dear little one to the felicities of the celeſtial world, and, at the ſame time, had ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of the divine goodneſs, in taking one of his children, and that too one who lay ſo near his heart, ſo early to himſelf, that the ſorrows of nature were quite ſwallowed up in the ſublime joys which theſe conſiderations adminiſtered. When he reflect-

ed what human life is; how many its ſnares and temptations are; and how frequently children, who once promiſed very well, are inſenſibly corrupted, and at length undone; with Solomon, he bleſſed the dead already dead more than the living who were yet alive, and felt an unſpeakable pleaſure in looking after the lovely infant, as ſafely and delightfully lodged in the houſe of its heavenly Father. Yea, he aſſured me, that his heart was at this time ſo entirely taken up with theſe views, that he was afraid, they who did not thoroughly know him might ſuſpect that he was deficient in the natural affections of a parent; while thus borne above the anguiſh of them, by the views which faith adminiſtered to him, and which divine grace ſupported in his ſoul.

§ 83. So much did he, on one of the moſt trying occaſions of life, manifeſt of the temper of a glorified ſaint; and to ſuch happy purpoſes did he retain thoſe leſſons of ſubmiſſion to God, and acquieſcence in him, which I remember he once inculcated in a letter he wrote to a lady of quality, under the apprehenſion of a breach in her family, with which providence ſeemed to threaten her; which I am willing to inſert here, though a little out of what might ſeem its moſt proper place, rather than entirely omit it. It is dated from Lon-

don, June 16. 1722, when, ſpeaking of the dangerous illneſs of a dear relative, he has theſe words: "When my mind runs hither," that is, to God, as its refuge and ſtrong defence, (as the connection plainly determines it), "I think I can bear any thing, the loſs "of all, the loſs of health or relations, on "whom I depend, and whom I love, all that "is dear to me, without repining or mur-"muring. When I think that God orders, diſ-"poſes, and manages all things according to the "council of his own will; when I think of the "extent of his providence, that it reaches to the "minuteſt things; then, though a uſeful friend "or dear relative be ſnatched away by death, "I recal myſelf, and check my thoughts with "theſe conſiderations: Is he not God, from "everlaſting and to everlaſting! And has he "not promiſed to be a God to me? A God "in all his attributes; a God in all his per-"ſons; a God in all his creatures, and provi-"dences? And ſhall I dare to ſay, What "ſhall I do? Was not he the infinite cauſe of "all I met with in the creatures? and were "not they the finite effects of his infinite love "and kindneſs? I have daily experienced, that "the inſtrument was and is what God makes "it to be; and I know, that this God hath "the hearts of all men in his hands, and the

" earth is the Lord's, and the fullneſs thereof. " If this earth be good for me, I ſhall have it; " for my Eather hath it all in poſſeſſion. If " favour in the eyes of men be good for " me, I ſhall have it, for the ſpring of every " motion in the heart of man is in God's " hand. My dear —— ſeems now to be dying; " but God is all-wiſe; and every thing is " done by him for the beſt. Shall I hold back " any thing that is his own, when he requires " it? No; God forbid! When I conſider the " excellency of his glorious attributes, I am " ſatisfied with all his dealings." I perceive, by the introduction, and by what follows, that moſt, if not all of this, is a quotation from ſomething written by a lady; but whether from ſome manuſcript or printed book, whether exactly tranſcribed, or quoted from memory, I cannot determine; And therefore I thought proper to inſert it, as the Major (for that was the office he bore then), by thus interweaving it with his letter, makes it his own; and as it ſeems to expreſs, in a very lively manner, the principles which bore him on to a conduct ſo truly great and heroic, in circumſtances that have overwhelmed many an heart, that could have faced danger and death with the greateſt intrepidity.

§ 84. I return now to conſider his character in the domeſtic relation of a maſter, on which I ſhall not enlarge. It is, however, proper to remark, that as his habitual meekneſs and command of his paſſions prevented indecent ſallies of ungoverned anger towards thoſe in the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection to him, (by which ſome in high life do ſtrangely debaſe themſelves, and loſe much of their authority), ſo the natural greatneſs of his mind made him ſolicitous to render their inferior ſtations as eaſy as he could; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he conſidered all the children of Adam as ſtanding upon a level before their great Creator, and had alſo a deeper ſenſe of the dignity and worth of every immortal ſoul, how meanly ſoever it might chance to be lodged, than moſt perſons I have known. This engaged him to give his ſervants frequent religious exhortations and inſtructions, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral who were ſo happy as to live with him under that character. One of the firſt letters after he entered on this Chriſtian courſe expreſſes the ſame diſpoſition; in which, with great tenderneſs, he recommends a ſervant, who was in a bad ſtate of health, to his mother's care, as he was well acquainted with her condeſcending temper; mentioning, at the ſame time, the endeavours he had

uſed to promote his preparations for a better world, under an apprehenſion that he would not continue long in this. And we ſhall have an affecting inſtance of the prevalency of the ſame diſpoſition in the cloſing ſcene of his life, and indeed in the laſt words he ever ſpoke, which expreſſed his generous ſolicitude for the ſafety of a faithful ſervant who was then near him.

§ 85. As it was a few years after his marriage that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which he continued till he had a regiment of his own, I ſhall for the future ſpeak of him by that title; and may not perhaps find any more proper place in which to mention what it is proper for me to ſay of his behaviour and conduct as an officer. I ſhall not here enlarge on his bravery in the field, though that was very remarkable, as I have heard from others: I ſay from others, for I never heard any thing of that kind from himſelf; nor knew, till after his death, that he was preſent at almoſt every battle that was fought in Flanders, while the illuſtrious Duke of Marlborough commanded the allied army there. I have alſo been aſſured from ſeveral very credible perſons, ſome of whom were eye-witneſſes, that at the ſkirmiſh with the rebels at Preſton in Lancaſhire, (thirty years

before that engagement at the other Preſton, which deprived us of this gallant guardian of his country), he ſignalized himſelf very particularly; for he headed a little body of men, I think about twelve, and ſet fire to the barricado of the rebels, in the face of their whole army, while they were pouring in their ſhot, by which eight of the twelve that attended him fell. This was the laſt action of the kind in which he was engaged, before the long peace which enſued: And who can expreſs how happy it was for him, and indeed for his country, of which he was ever ſo generous, and in his latter years ſo important a friend, that he did not fall then; when the profaneneſs which mingled itſelf with his martial rage ſeemed to rend the heavens, and ſhocked ſome other military gentlemen, who were not themſelves remarkable for their caution in this reſpect.

§ 86. But I inſiſt not on things of this nature, which the true greatneſs of his ſoul would hardly ever permit him to mention, unleſs when it tended to illuſtrate the divine care over him in theſe extremities of danger, and the grace of God, in calling him from ſo abandoned a ſtate. It is well known, that the character of an officer is not only to be approved in the day of combat. Colonel Gar-

diner was truly ſenſible, that every day brought its duties along with it; and he was conſtantly careful, that no pretence of amuſement, friendſhip, or even devotion itſelf, might prevent their being diſcharged in their ſeaſon.

§ 87. I doubt not but the noble perſons in whoſe regiment he was Lieutenant-Colonel will always be ready to bear an honourable and grateful teſtimony to his examplary diligence and fidelity in all that related to the care of the troops over which he was ſet, whether with regard to the men or the horſes. He knew, that it is incumbent on thoſe who have the honour of preſiding over others, whether in civil, eccleſiaſtical, or military offices, not to content themſelves with doing only ſo much as may preſerve them from the reproach of groſs and viſible neglect; but ſeriouſly to conſider, how much they can poſſibly do, without going out of their proper ſphere, to ſerve the public, by the due inſpection of thoſe committed to their care. The duties of the cloſet and of the ſanctuary were ſo adjuſted, as not to interfere with thoſe of the parade, or any other place where the welfare of the regiment called him. On the other hand, he was ſolicitous not to ſuffer theſe things to interfere with religion; a due attendance to

which he apprehended to be the ſureſt method of attaining all deſirable ſucceſs in every other intereſt and concern in life. He therefore abhorred every thing that ſhould look like a contrivance to keep his ſoldiers employed about their horſes and their arms at the ſeaſons of public worſhip; (an indecency which I wiſh there were no room to mention:) Far from that, he uſed to have them drawn up juſt before it began; and from the parade they went off to the houſe of God. He underſtood the rights of conſcience too well to impoſe his own particular profeſſion in religion on others, or to uſe thoſe who differed from him in the choice of its modes the leſs kindly or reſpectfully on that account. But as moſt of his own company, and many of the reſt, choſe (when in England) to attend him to the diſſenting chapel, he uſed to march them thither in due time, ſo as to be there before the worſhip began. And I muſt do them juſtice to ſay, that, ſo far as I could ever diſcern, when I have ſeen them in large numbers before me, they have behaved with as much reverence, gravity, and decorum, during the time of divine ſervice, as any of their fellow-worſhippers.

§ 88. That his remarkable care to maintain good diſcipline among them (of which we

ſhall afterwards ſpeak) might be more effectual, he made himſelf on all proper occaſions acceſſible to them, and expreſſed a great concern for their intereſts, which being ſo genuine and ſincere, naturally diſcovered itſelf in a variety of inſtances. I remember I had once occaſion to viſit one of his dragoons in his laſt illneſs at Harborough, and I found the man upon the borders of eternity; a circumſtance, which, as he apprehended it himſelf, muſt add ſome peculiar weight and credibility to his diſcourſe. And he then told me, in his Colonel's abſence, that he queſtioned not but he ſhould have everlaſting reaſon to bleſs God on Colonel Gardiner's account; for he had been a father to him in all his intereſts, both temporal and ſpiritual. He added, that he had viſited him almoſt every day during his illneſs, with religious advice and inſtruction, as well as taken care that he ſhould want nothing that might conduce to the recovery of his health. And he did not ſpeak of this as the reſult of any particular attachment to him, but as the manner in which he was accuſtomed to treat thoſe under his command. It is no wonder that this engaged their affection to a very great degree. And I doubt not, that if he had fought the fatal battle of Preſtonpans at the head of that gallant regiment, of which he

had the care for ſo many years, and which is allowed by moſt unexceptionable judges to be one of the fineſt in the Britiſh ſervice, and conſequently in the world, he had been ſupported in a very different manner, and had found a much greater number who would have rejoiced in an opportunity of making their own breaſts a barrier in the defence of his.

§ 89. It could not but greatly endear him to his ſoldiers, that ſo far as preferment lay in his power, or were under his influence, they were diſtributed according to merit, which he knew to be as much the dictate of prudence as of equity. I find by one of his letters before me, dated but a few months after his happy change, that he was ſolicited to improve his intereſt with the Earl of Stair, in favour of one whom he judged a very worthy perſon; and that it had been ſuggeſted by another who recommended him, that, if he ſucceeded, he might expect ſome handſome acknowledgement. But he anſwers with ſome degree of indignation, "Do you imagine I am "to be bribed to do juſtice?" for ſuch, it ſeems, he eſteemed it, to confer the favour which was aſked from him on one ſo deſerving. Nothing can more effectually tend to humble the enemies of a ſtate, than that ſuch

maxims ſhould univerſally prevail in it: And, if they do not prevail, the worthieſt men in an army or fleet may be ſunk under repeated diſcouragements, and the baſeſt exalted to the infamy of the public, and perhaps to its ruin.

§ 90. In the midſt of all the gentleneſs which Colonel Gardiner exerciſed towards his ſoldiers, he made it very apparent, that he knew how to reconcile the tenderneſs of a real faithful and condeſcending friend with the authority of a commander. Perhaps hardly any thing conduced more generally to the maintaining of his authority than the ſtrict decorum and good manners with which he treated even the private gentlemen of his regiment, which has always a great efficacy towards keeping inferiors at a proper diſtance, and forbids, in the leaſt offenſive manner, familiarities which degrade the ſuperior, and enervate his influence. The calmneſs and ſteadineſs of his behaviour on all occaſions did alſo greatly tend to the ſame purpoſe. He knew how mean a man looks in the tranſports of paſſion, and would not uſe ſo much freedom with many of his men, as to fall into ſuch tranſports before them; well knowing that perſons in the loweſt rank of life are aware how unfit they are to govern others, who cannot govern them-

ſelves. He was alſo ſenſible how neceſſary it is in all who preſide over others, and eſpecially in military officers, to check irregularities when they firſt begin to appear; and that he might be able to do it, he kept a ſtrict inſpection over his ſoldiers; in which view it was obſerved, that as he generally choſe to reſide among them as much as he could, (though in circumſtances which ſometimes occaſioned him to deny himſelf in ſome intereſts which were very dear to him), ſo, when they were around him, he ſeldom ſtaid long in a place, but was frequently walking the ſtreets, and looking into their quarters and ſtables, as well as reviewing and exerciſing them himſelf. It has often been obſerved, that the regiment of which he was ſo many years Lieutenant-Colonel, was one of the moſt regular and orderly regiments in the public ſervice; ſo that perhaps none of our dragoons were more welcome than they to the towns where their character was known. Yet no ſuch bodies of men are ſo blameleſs in their conduct, but ſomething will be found, eſpecially among ſuch conſiderable numbers, worthy of cenſure, and ſometimes of puniſhment. This Colonel Gardiner knew how to inflict with a becoming reſolution, and with all the ſeverity which he judged neceſſary:

A ſeverity the more awful and impreſſing, as it was always attended with meekneſs; for he well knew, that when things are done in a paſſion, it ſeems only an accidental circumſtance that they are acts of juſtice, and that ſuch indecencies greatly obſtruct the ends of puniſhment, both as it relates to reforming offenders, and to deterring others from an imitation of their faults.

§ 91. One inſtance of his conduct, which happened at Leiceſter, and was related by the perſon chiefly concerned, to a worthy friend from whom I had it, I cannot forbear inſerting. While part of the regiment was encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, the Colonel went incognito to the camp in the middle of the night; for he ſometimes lodged at his quarters in the town. One of the centinels then on duty had abandoned his poſt; and on being ſeized, broke out into ſome oaths and profane execrations againſt thoſe that diſcovered him; a crime of which the Colonel had the greateſt abhorrence, and on which he never failed to animadvert. The man afterwards appeared much aſhamed and concerned for what he had done. But the Colonel ordered him to be brought early next morning to his own quarters, where he had prepared a piquet, on which he appointed him a private

ſort of penance; and while he was put upon it, he diſcourſed with him ſeriouſly and tenderly upon the evils and aggravations of his fault; admoniſhed him of the divine diſpleaſure which he had incurred; and urged him to argue from the pain which he then felt, how infinitely more dreadful it muſt be to fall into the hands of the living God, and indeed to meet the terrors of that damnation which he had been accuſtomed impiouſly to call for on himſelf and his companions. The reſult of this proceeding was, that the offender accepted his puniſhment, not only with ſubmiſſion, but with thankfulneſs. He went away with a more cordial affection for his Colonel than ever he had before; and ſpoke of it ſome years after to my friend, in ſuch a manner, that there ſeemed reaſon to hope it had been inſtrumental in producing not only a change in his life, but in his heart.

§ 92. There cannot, I think, be a more proper place for mentioning the great reverence this excellent officer always expreſſed for the name of the bleſſed God, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to ſuppreſs, and if poſſible to extirpate, that deteſtable ſin of ſwearing and curſing which is every where ſo common, and eſpecially among our military men. He often declared his ſentiments with

reſpect to this enormity at the head of his regiment; and urged his captains and their ſubalterns to take the greateſt care that they did not give the ſanction of their example to that, which, by their office, they were obliged to puniſh in others. And indeed his zeal on theſe occaſions wrought in a very active, and ſometimes in a remarkably ſucceſsful manner, not only among his equals, but ſometimes among his ſuperiors too. An inſtance of this in Flanders I ſhall have an opportunity hereafter to produce; at preſent I ſhall only mention his conduct in Scotland a little before his death, as I have it from a very valuable young miniſter of that country, on whoſe teſtimony I can thoroughly depend; and I wiſh it may excite many to imitation.

§ 93. The commanding officer of the king's forces then about Edinburgh, with the other Colonels, and ſeveral other gentlemen of rank in their reſpective regiments, favoured him with their company at Bankton, and took a dinner with him. He too well foreſaw what might happen amidſt ſuch a variety of tempers and characters; and fearing leſt his conſcience might have been enſnared by a ſinful ſilence, or that, on the other hand, he might ſeem to paſs the bounds of decency, and infringe upon the laws of hoſpitality, by animadverting on

gueſts ſo juſtly entitled to his regard; he happily determined on the following method of avoiding each of theſe difficulties. As ſoon as they were come together, he addreſſed them with a great deal of reſpect, and yet at the ſame time with a very frank and determined air; and told them that he had the honour in that diſtrict to be a juſtice of the peace, and conſequently that he was ſworn to put the laws in execution, and, amongſt the reſt, thoſe againſt ſwearing: That he could not execute them upon others with any confidence, or by any means approve himſelf as a man of impartiality and integrity to his own heart, if he ſuffered them to be broken in his preſence by perſons of any rank whatſoever: And that therefore he intreated all the gentlemen who then honoured him with their company, that they would pleaſe to be upon their guard; and that if any oath or curſe ſhould eſcape them, he hoped they would conſider his legal animadverſion upon it as a regard to the duties of his office and the dictates of his conſcience, and not as owing to any want of deference to them. The commanding officer immediately ſupported him in this declaration, as entirely becoming the ſtation in which he was, aſſuring him, that he would be ready to pay the penalty, if he inadvertently tranſgreſſed; and when Colonel

Gardiner on any occaſion ſtepped out of the room, he himſelf undertook to be the guardian of the law in his abſence; and as one of the inferior officers offended during this time, he informed the Colonel; ſo that the fine was exacted, and given to the poor *, with the univerſal approbation of the company. The ſtory ſpread in the neighbourhood; and was perhaps highly applauded by many who wanted the courage to go and do likewiſe. But it may be ſaid of the worthy perſon of whom I write, with the utmoſt propriety, that he feared the face of no man living, where the honour of God was concerned. In all ſuch caſes he might be juſtly ſaid, in ſcripture phraſe, to ſet his face like a flint; and I aſſuredly believe, that had he been in the preſence of a ſovereign prince who had been guilty of this fault, his looks at leaſt would have teſtified his grief and ſurpriſe, if he had apprehended it unfit to have borne his teſtimony any other way.

§ 94. Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons, during the years I have mentioned, while he

* It is obſervable, that the money which was forfeited on this account by his own officers, whom he never ſpared, or by any others of his ſoldiers, who rather choſe to pay than to ſubmit to corporal puniſhment, was by the Colonel's order laid by in a bank, till ſome of the private men fell ſick, and then it was laid out in providing them with proper help and accomodations in their diſtreſs.

was lieutenant-colonel of it, was quartered in a great variety of places, both in England and Scotland, from many of which I have letters before me; particularly from Hamilton, Ayr, Carliſle, Hereford, Maidenhead, Leiceſter, Warwick, Coventry, Stamford, Harborough, Northampton, and ſeveral other places, eſpecially in our inland parts. The natural conſequence was, that the Colonel, whoſe character was on many accounts ſo very remarkable, had a very extenſive acquaintance: And I believe I may certainly ſay, that wherever he was known by perſons of wiſdom and worth, he was proportionably reſpected, and left behind him traces of unaffected devotion, humility, benevolence, and zeal for the ſupport and advancement of religion and virtue.

§ 95. The equitable tenor of his mind in theſe reſpects is illuſtrated by his letters from ſeveral of theſe places; and though it is but comparatively a ſmall number of them which I have now in my hands, yet they will afford ſome valuable extracts, which I ſhall therefore here lay before my reader, that he may the better judge as to his real character, in particulars of which I have already diſcourſed, or which may hereafter occur.

§ 96. In a letter to his lady, dated from Carliſle, Nov. 19. 1733, when he was on his jour-

ney to Herefordſhire, he breathes out his grateful and cheerful ſoul in theſe words: "I bleſs "God I was never better in my lifetime; and "I wiſh I could be ſo happy as to hear the "ſame of you; or rather (in other words) to "hear that you had obtained an entire truſt in "God. That would infallibly keep you in per-"fect peace; for the God of truth hath pro-"miſed it. Oh, how ought we to be longing "to be with Chriſt, which is infinitely better "than any thing we can propoſe here! to be "there, where all complaints ſhall be for ever "baniſhed; where no mountains ſhall ſeparate "between God and our ſouls: And I hope it "will be ſome addition to our happineſs, that "you and I ſhall be ſeparated no more; but "that, as we have joined in ſinging the praiſes "of our glorious Redeemer here, we ſhall ſing "them in a much higher key through an end-"leſs eternity. Oh eternity, eternity! What "a wonderful thought is eternity!"

§ 97. From Leiceſter, Auguſt 6. 1739, he writes thus to his lady: "Yeſterday I was at "the Lord's table, where you and the chil-"dren were not forgotten: But how won-"derfully was I aſſiſted when I came home, "to plead for you all with many tears!" And then, ſpeaking of ſome intimate friends,

who were impatient (as I ſuppoſe by the connection), for his return to them, he takes occaſion to obſerve the neceſſity "of endeavouring "to compoſe our minds, and to ſay with the "Pſalmiſt, 'My ſoul, wait thou only upon "God." Afterwards, ſpeaking of one of his "children, of whom he heard that he made a "commendable progreſs in learning, he expreſſes his ſatisfaction in it, and adds, "But "how much greater joy would it give me to "hear, that he was greatly advanced in the "ſchool of Chriſt! Oh that our children may "but be wiſe to ſalvation, and may grow in "grace as they do in ſtature!"

§ 98. Theſe letters, which to ſo familiar a friend evidently lay open the heart, and ſhew the ideas and affections which were lodged deepeſt there, are ſometimes taken up with an account of ſermons he had attended, and the impreſſion they had made upon his mind. I ſhall mention one only, as a ſpecimen of many more, which was dated from a place called Cohorn, April 15. "We had here a "miniſter from Wales, who gave us two ex-"cellent diſcourſes on the love of Chriſt to "us, as an argument to engage our love to "him. And indeed, next to the greatneſs of "his love to us, methinks there is nothing

"ſo aſtoniſhing as the coldneſs of our love to "him. Oh that he would ſhed abroad his "his love upon our hearts by his Holy Spi- "rit, that ours might he kindled into a flame! "May God enable you to truſt in him, and "then you will be kept in perfect peace!"

§ 99. We have met with many traces of that habitual gratitude to the bleſſed God, as his heavenly Father and conſtant friend, which made his life probably one of the happieſt that ever was ſpent on earth. I cannot omit one more, which appears to me the more worthy of notice, as being a ſhort turn in as haſty a letter as any I remember to have ſeen of his, which he wrote from Leiceſter in June 1739. "I am now under the deepeſt ſenſe of the "many favours the Almighty has beſtowed "upon me: Surely you will help me to cele- "brate the praiſe of our gracious God and "kind benefactor." This exuberance of grate- ful affection, which, while it it was almoſt every hour pouring itſelf forth before God in the moſt genuine and emphatical language, felt itſelf ſtill as it were ſtraitened for want of a ſufficient vent, and therefore called on others to help him with their concurrent praiſes, ap- pears to me the moſt glorious and happy ſtate in which a human ſoul can find itſelf on this ſide heaven.

§ 100. Such was the temper which this excellent man appears to have carried along with him through ſuch a variety of places and circumſtances; and the whole of his deportment was ſuitable to theſe impreſſions. Strangers were agreeably ſtruck with his firſt appearance; there was ſo much of the Chriſtian, the well-bred man, and the univerſal friend in it; and as they came more intimately to know him, they diſcovered more and more the uniformity and conſiſtency of his whole temper and behaviour; ſo that, whether he made only a viſit for a few days to any place, or continued there for many weeks or months, he was always beloved and eſteemed, and ſpoken of with that honourable teſtimony from perſons of the moſt different denominations and parties, which nothing but true ſterling worth (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) and that in an eminent degree, can ſecure.

§ 101. Of the juſtice of this teſtimony, which I had ſo often heard from a variety of perſons, I myſelf began to be a witneſs, about the time when the laſt mentioned letter was dated. In this view I believe I ſhall never forget that happy day, June 13. 1739, when I firſt met him at Leiceſter. I remember I happened that day to preach a lecture from Pſalm

cxix. 158. *I beheld the tranſgreſſors, and was grieved, becauſe they kept not thy law.* I was large in deſcribing that mixture of indignation and grief (ſtrongly impreſſed by the original word there) with which the good man looks on the daring tranſgreſſors of the divine law; and in tracing the cauſes that grief, as ariſing from a regard to the divine honour, and the intereſt of a Redeemer, and a compaſſionate concern for the miſery ſuch offenders bring on themſelves, and for the miſchief they do to the world about them. I little thought how exactly I was drawing Colonel Gardiner's character under each of theſe heads; and I have often reflected upon it as a happy providence, which opened a much ſpeedier way than I could have expected, to the breaſt of one of the moſt amiable and uſeful friends which I ever expect to find upon earth. We afterwards ſung a hymn, which brought over again ſome of the leading thoughts in the ſermon, and ſtruck him ſo ſtrongly, that on obtaining a copy of it, he committed it to his memory, and uſed to repeat it with ſo forcible an accent, as ſhewed how much every line expreſſed of his very ſoul. In this view, the reader will pardon my inſerting it; eſpecially, as I know not when I may get time to publiſh a volume of theſe ſerious, though art-

leſs compoſures, which I ſent him in manuſcript ſome years ago, and to which I have ſince made very large additions:

Ariſe, my tender'ſt thoughts, ariſe,
To torrents melt my ſtreaming eyes!
And thou, my heart, with anguiſh feel
Thoſe evils which thou canſt not heal!

See human nature ſunk in ſhame!
See ſcandals pour'd on Jeſus's name!
The Father wounded thro' the Son!
The world abus'd, the ſoul undone!

See the ſhort courſe of vain delight
Cloſing in everlaſting night!
In flames that no abatement know,
The briny tears for ever flow.

My God, I feel the mournful ſcene;
My bowels yearn o'er dying men:
And fain my pity would reclaim,
And ſnatch the fire-brands from the flame.

But feeble my compaſſion proves,
And can but weep where moſt it loves:
Thine own all-ſaving arm employ,
And turn theſe drops of grief to joy!

§ 102. The Colonel, immediately after the concluſion of the ſervice, met me in the veſtry.

and embraced me in the moſt obliging and affectionate manner, as if there had been a long friendſhip between us; aſſured me, that he had for ſome years been intimately acquainted with my writings; and deſired that we might concert meaſures for ſpending ſome hours together before I left the town. I was ſo happy as to be able to ſecure an opportunity of doing it; and I muſt leave it upon record, that I cannot recollect I was ever equally edified by any converſation I remember to have enjoyed. We paſſed that evening and the next morning together; and it is impoſſible for me to deſcribe the impreſſion which the interview left upon my heart. I rode alone all the remainder of the day; and it was my unſpeakable happineſs that I was alone, ſince I could be no longer with him; for I can hardly conceive what other company would not then have been an incumbrance. The views which he gave me even then, (for he began to repoſe a moſt obliging confidence in me, though he concealed ſome of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances of the methods by which he had been recovered to God and happineſs), with thoſe cordial ſentiments of evangelical piety and extenſive goodneſs, which he poured out into my boſom with ſo endearing a freedom, fired my very ſoul, and I hope

I may truly ſay (what I wiſh and pray many of my readers may alſo adopt for themſelves) that I glorified God in him. Our epiſtolary correſpondence immediately commenced upon my return; and though, through the multiplicity of buſineſs on both ſides, it ſuffered many interruptions, it was in ſome degree the bleſſing of all the following years of my life, till he fell by thoſe unreaſonable and wicked men, who had it in their hearts with him to have deſtroyed all our glory, defence, and happineſs.

§ 103. The firſt letter I received from him was ſo remarkable, that ſome perſons of eminent piety, to whom I communicated it, would not be content without copying it out, or making ſome extracts from it. I perſuade myſelf that my devout reader will not be diſpleaſed, that I inſert the greateſt part of it here, eſpecially as it ſerves to illuſtrate the affectionate ſenſe which he had of the divine goodneſs in his converſion, though more than twenty years had paſſed ſince that memorable event happened. Having mentioned my ever dear and honoured friend Dr Iſaac Watts, on an occaſion which I hinted at above, (§ 70.) he adds, "I have been in pain theſe ſeveral "years, leſt that excellent perſon, that ſweet "ſinger in our Iſrael, ſhould have been called

" to heaven before I had an opportunity of
" letting him know how much his works have
" been bleſſed to me, and of courſe, of return-
" ing him my hearty thanks: For though it
" was owing to the operation of the Bleſſed
" Spirit that any thing works effectually up-
" on our hearts, yet if we are not thankful
" to the inſtrument which God is pleaſed to
" make uſe of, whom we do ſee, how ſhall
" we be thankful to the Almighty, whom we
" have not ſeen? I deſire to bleſs God for the
" good news of his recovery, and intreat you
" to tell him, that although I cannot keep
" pace with him here in celebrating the high
" praiſes of our glorious Redeemer, which is
" the greateſt grief of my heart, yet I am per-
" ſuaded, that when I join the glorious com-
" pany above, where there will be no draw-
" backs, none will outſing me there, becauſe
" I ſhall not find any that will be more in-
" debted to the wonderful riches of divine
" grace than I.

" Give me a place at thy ſaints feet,
" Or ſome fall'n angel's vacant ſeat;
" I'll ſtrive to ſing as loud as they,
" Who ſit above on brighter day.

" I know it is natural for every one, who
" has felt the almighty power which raiſed

" our glorious Redeemer from the grave, to be-
" lieve his caſe ſingular: But I have made every
" one in this reſpect ſubmit, as ſoon as he has
" heard the ſtory. And if you ſeemed to be
" ſurpriſed at the account which I gave you,
" what will you be when you hear it all!

" Oh if I had an angel's voice,
" And could be heard from pole to pole;
" I would to all the liſt'ning world
" Proclaim thy goodneſs to my ſoul."

He then concludes, after ſome expreſſions of endearment, (which, with whatever pleaſure I review them, I muſt not here inſert); " If you
" knew what a natural averſion I have to writ-
" ing, you would be aſtoniſhed at the length
" of this letter, which is, I believe, the longeſt
" I ever wrote. But my heart warms when I
" write to you, which makes my pen move the
" eaſier. I hope it will pleaſe our gracious
" God long to preſerve you, a bleſſed inſtru-
" ment in his hand of doing great good in the
" church of Chriſt; and that you may always
" enjoy a thriving ſoul in a healthy body, ſhall
" be the the continual prayer of," &c.

§ 104. As our intimacy grew, our mutual affection increaſed; and " my deareſt friend," was the form of addreſs with which moſt of his

epiſtles of the laſt years were begun and ended. Many of them are filled up with his ſentiments of thoſe writings which I publiſhed during theſe years, which he read with great attention, and of which he ſpeaks in terms which it becomes me to ſuppreſs, and to impute in a conſiderable degree to the kind prejudices of ſo endeared a friendſhip. He gives me repeated aſſurances, "that he was daily mindful of me in his pray-"ers;" a circumſtance which I cannot recollect without the greateſt thankfulneſs; the loſs of which I ſhould more deeply lament, did I not hope that the happy effect of theſe prayers might ſtill continue, and might run into all my remaining days.

§ 105. It might be a pleaſure to me, to make ſeveral extracts from many others of his letters: But it is a pleaſure which I ought to ſuppreſs, and rather to reflect with unfeigned humility, how unworthy I was of ſuch regards from ſuch a perſon, and of that divine goodneſs which gave me ſuch a friend in him. I ſhall therefore only add two general remarks, which offer themſelves from ſeveral of his letters. The one is, that there is in ſome of them, as our freedom increaſed, an agreeable vein of humour and pleaſantry;

which ſhews how eaſy religion ſat upon him, and how far he was from placing any part of it in a gloomy melancholy, or ſtiff formality. The other is, that he frequently refers to domeſtic circumſtances, ſuch as the illneſs or recovery of my children, &c. which I am ſurpriſed how a man of his extenſive and important buſineſs could ſo diſtinctly bear upon his mind. But his memory was good, and his heart was yet better; and his friendſhip was ſuch, that nothing which ſenſibly affected the heart of one whom he honoured with it, left his own but ſlightly touched. I have all imaginable reaſon to believe, that in many inſtances his prayers were not only offered for us in general terms, but varied as our particular ſituation required. Many quotations might verify this; but I decline troubling the reader with an enumeration of paſſages, in which it was only the abundance of friendly ſympathy that gave this truly great, as well as good man, ſo cordial a concern.

§ 106. After this correſpondence, carried on for the ſpace of about three years, and ſome interviews which we had enjoyed at different places, he came to ſpend ſome time with us at Northampton, and brought with him his lady and his two eldeſt children. I had here an opportunity of taking a much nearer view

of his character, and ſurveying it in a much greater variety of lights than before; and my eſteem for him increaſed, in proportion to theſe opportunities. What I have wrote above, with reſpect to his conduct in relative life, was in a great meaſure drawn from what I now ſaw: And I ſhall mention here ſome other points in his behaviour, which particularly ſtruck my mind; and likewiſe ſhall touch on his ſentiments on ſome topics of importance, which he freely communicated to me, and which I remarked on account of that wiſdom and propriety which I apprehended in them.

§ 107. There was nothing more openly obſervable in Colonel Gardiner, than the exemplary gravity, compoſure, and reverence, with which he attended public worſhip. Copious as he was in his ſecret devotions, before he engaged in it, he always began them ſo early as not to be retarded by them when he ſhould reſort to the houſe of God. He, and all his ſoldiers who choſe to worſhip with him, were generally there (as I have already hinted) before the ſervice began, that the entrance of ſo many at once might not diſturb the congregation already engaged in devotion, and that there might be the better opportunity for bringing the mind to a becoming attention,

and preparing it for converſe with the divine Being. While acts of worſhip were going on, whether of prayer or ſinging, he always ſtood up; and whatever regard he might have for perſons who paſſed by him at that time, though it were to come into the ſame pew, he never paid any compliment to them: And often has he expreſſed his wonder at the indecorum of breaking off our addreſs to God, to bow to a fellow-creature, which he thought a much greater indecency than it would be, on a little occaſion and circumſtance, to interrupt an addreſs to our prince. During the time of preaching, his eye was commonly fixed upon the miniſter, though ſometimes turned round upon the auditory, where, if he obſerved any to trifle, it filled him with juſt indignation. And I have known inſtances, in which, upon making the remark, he has communicated it to ſome friend of the perſons who were guilty of it, that proper application might be made to prevent it for the time to come.

§ 108. A more devout communicant at the table of the Lord has perhaps ſeldom been any where known. Often have I had the pleaſure to ſee that manly countenance ſoftened to all the marks of humiliation and contrition, on this occaſion; and to diſcern, in ſpite of all

his efforts to conceal them, ſtreams of tears flowing down from his eyes, while he has been directing them to thoſe memorials of his Redeemer's love. And ſome, who have converſed intimately with him after he came from that ordinance, have obſerved a viſible abſtraction from ſurrounding objects, by which there ſeemed reaſon to imagine that his ſoul was wrapped up in holy contemplation. And I particularly remember, that when we had once ſpent great part of the following Monday in riding together, he made an apology to me for being ſo abſent as he ſeemed, by telling me, "that "his heart was flown upwards, before he was "aware, to him whom not having ſeen he lov-"ed *; and that he was rejoicing in him with "ſuch unſpeakable joy, that he could not hold "it down to creature-converſe."

§ 109. In all the offices of friendſhip he was remarkably ready, and had a moſt ſweet and engaging manner of performing them, which greatly heightened the obligations he conferred. He ſeemed not to ſet any high value upon any benefit he beſtowed; but did it without the leaſt parade, as a thing which in thoſe circumſtances came of courſe, where he

* N. B. This alluded to the ſubject of the ſermon the day before, which was 1 Pet. i. 8.

had profeſſed love and reſpect; which he was not over forward to do, though he treated ſtrangers and thoſe who were moſt his inferiors very courteouſly, and always ſeemed, becauſe he in truth always was, glad of any opportunity of doing them good.

§ 110. He was particularly zealous in vindicating the reputation of his friends in their abſence; and though I cannot recollect that I had ever an opportunity of obſerving this immediately, as I do not know that I ever was preſent with him when any ill was ſpoken of others at all; yet by what I have heard him ſay, with relation to attempts to injure the character of worthy and uſeful men, I have reaſon to believe, that no man living was more ſenſible of the baſeneſs and infamy, as well as the cruelty of ſuch a conduct. He knew and deſpiſed the low principles of reſentment for unreaſonable expectations diſappointed, of perſonal attachment to men of ſome croſſing intereſts, of envy, and of party-zeal, from whence ſuch a conduct often proceeds; and was particularly offended, when he found it (as he frequently did) in perſons that ſet up for the greateſt patrons of liberty, virtue, and candour. He looked upon the murtherers of reputation and uſefulneſs as ſome of the vileſt peſts of ſociety;

and plainly ſhewed, on every proper occaſion, that he thought it the part of a generous, benevolent, and courageous man, to exert himſelf in tracing and hunting down the ſlander, that the authors or abettors of it might be leſs capable of doing miſchief for the future.

§ 111. The moſt plauſible objection that I ever heard to Colonel Gardiner's character is, that he was too much attached to ſome religious principles, eſtabliſhed indeed in the churches both of England and Scotland, but which have of late years been much diſputed, and from which, it is at leaſt generally ſuppoſed, not a few in both have thought proper to depart; whatever expedients they may have found to quiet their conſciences, in ſubſcribing thoſe formularies in which they are plainly taught. His zeal was eſpecially apparent in oppoſition to thoſe doctrines which ſeemed to derogate from the divine honours of the Son and Spirit of God, and from the freedom of divine grace, or the reality and neceſſity of its operations in the converſion and ſalvation of ſinners.

§. 112. With relation to theſe, I muſt obſerve, that it was his moſt ſteadfaſt perſuaſion, that all thoſe notions which repreſent our bleſſed Redeemer and the Holy Spirit as mere

creatures, or which ſet aſide the atonement of the former, or the influence of the latter, do ſap the very foundation of Chriſtianity, by rejecting the moſt glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively obſerved, (what indeed is too obvious), the unhappy influence which the denial of theſe principles often has on the character of miniſters, and on their ſucceſs; and was perſuaded, that an attempt to ſubſtitute that mutilated form of Chriſtianity which remains, when theſe eſſentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the moſt ſucceſsful methods which the great enemy of ſouls has ever taken in theſe latter days to lead men, by inſenſible degrees, into deiſm, vice, and perdition. He alſo ſagaciouſly obſerved the artful manner in which obnoxious tenets are often maintained or inſinuated, with all that mixture of zeal and addreſs with which they are propagated in the world, even by thoſe who had moſt ſolemnly profeſſed to believe, and engaged to teach the contrary: And as he really apprehended, that the glory of God and the ſalvation of ſouls was concerned, his piety and charity made him eager and ſtrenuous in oppoſing what he judged to be errors of ſo pernicious a nature. Yet I muſt declare, that according to what I have known of him,

(and I believe he opened his heart on theſe topics to me with as much freedom as to any man living), he was not ready, upon light ſuſpicions, to charge tenets which he thought ſo pernicious on any, eſpecially where he ſaw the appearances of a good temper and life, which he always reverenced and loved in perſons of all ſentiments and profeſſions. He ſeverely condemned cauſeleſs jealouſies, and evil ſurmiſings of every kind; and extended that charity in this reſpect, both to clergy and laity, which good Biſhop Burnet was ſo ready, according to his own account, to limit the latter, "of believing every man good till he "knew him to be bad, and his notions right "till he knew them wrong." He could not but be very ſenſible of the unhappy conſequences which may follow on attacking the characters of men, eſpecially of thoſe who are miniſters of the goſpel: And if, through a mixture of human frailty, from which the beſt of men, in the beſt of their meanings and intentions, are not entirely free, he has ever, in the warmth of his heart, dropped a word which might be injurious to any on that account, (which I believe very ſeldom happened), he would gladly retract it on better information; which was perfectly agreeable to that honeſt and generous frankneſs of temper

in which I never knew any man who exceeded him.

§ 113. On the whole, it was indeed his deliberate judgment, that the Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian doctrines were highly diſhonourable to God, and dangerous to the ſouls of men; and that it was the duty of private Chriſtians to be greatly on their guard againſt thoſe miniſters by whom they are entertained, leſt their minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt. Yet he ſincerely abhorred the thought of perſecution for conſcience ſake; of the abſurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name. And indeed the generoſity of his heroic heart could hardly bear to think, that thoſe glorious truths, which he ſo cordially loved, and which he aſſuredly believed to be capable of ſuch fair ſupport, both from reaſon and the word of God, ſhould be diſgraced by methods of defence and propagation common to the moſt impious and ridiculous falſehoods. Nor did he by any means approve of paſſionate and furious ways of vindicating the moſt vital and important doctrines of the goſpel: For he knew, that to maintain the moſt benevolent religion in the world by ſuch malevolent and infernal methods, was

deſtroying the end to accompliſh the means; and that it was impoſſible that true Chriſtianity ſhall be ſupported thus, as it is that a man ſhould long be nouriſhed by eating his own fleſh. To diſplay the genuine fruits of Chriſtianity in a good life, to be ready to plead with meekneſs and ſweetneſs for the doctrines it teaches, and to labour by every office of humanity and goodneſs to gain upon them that oppoſe it, were the weapons with which this good ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt faithfully fought the battles of the Lord. Theſe weapons will always be victorious in his cauſe; and they who have recourſe to others of a different temperature, how ſtrong ſoever they may ſeem, and how ſharp ſoever they may really be, will find they break in their hands when they exert them moſt furiouſly, and are much more likely to wound themſelves than to conquer the enemies they oppoſe.

§ 114. But while I am ſpeaking of Colonel Gardiner's charity in this reſpect, I muſt not omit that of another kind, which has indeed ingroſſed the name of charity much more than it ought, excellent as it is; I mean almſgiving, for which he was very remarkable. I have often wondered how he was able to do ſo many generous things this way:

But his frugality fed the ſpring. He made no pleaſurable expence on himſelf; and was contented with a very decent appearance in his family, without affecting ſuch an air of grandeur as could not have been ſupported without ſacrificing to it ſatisfactions far nobler, and to a temper like his far more delightful. The lively and tender feelings of his heart in favour of the diſtreſſed and afflicted, made it a ſelf-indulgence to him to relieve them; and the deep conviction he had of the vain and tranſitory nature of the enjoyments of this world, together with the ſublime view he had of another, engaged him to diſpenſe his bounties with a very liberal hand, and even to ſeek out proper objects of them: And above all, his ſincere and ardent love to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt engaged him to feel, with a true ſympathy, the concerns of his poor members. In conſequence of this, he honoured ſeveral of his friends with commiſſions for the relief of the poor; and particularly, with relation to ſome under my paſtoral care, he referred it to my diſcretion, to ſupply them with what I ſhould judge expedient; and frequently preſſed me in his letters to be ſure not to let them want. And where perſons ſtanding in need of his charity happened, as they often did, to be perſons of remarkably religious diſpoſitions,

it was eaſy to perceive, that he not only loved, but honoured them, and really eſteemed it an honour which providence conferred upon him, that he ſhould be made, as it were, the almoner of God for the relief of ſuch.

§ 115. I cannot forbear relating a little ſtory here, which, when the Colonel himſelf heard it, gave him ſuch exquiſite pleaſure, that I hope it will be acceptable to ſeveral of my readers. There was in a village about three miles from Northampton, and in a family which of all others near me was afterwards moſt indebted to him, (though he had never then ſeen any member of it), an aged and poor, but eminently good woman, who had, with great difficulty, in the exerciſe of much faith and patience, diligence and humility, made ſhift to educate a large family of children, after the death of her huſband, without being chargeable to the pariſh; which, as it was quite beyond her hope; ſhe often ſpoke of with great delight. At length, when worn out with age and infirmities, ſhe lay upon her dying bed, ſhe did in a moſt lively and affecting manner expreſs her hope and joy in the views of approaching glory. Yet, amidſt all the triumph of ſuch a proſpect, there was one remaining care and diſtreſs which lay heavy on her mind; which was, that as her journey

and her ſtock of proviſions were both ended together, ſhe feared that ſhe muſt either be buried at the pariſh expence, or leave her moſt dutiful and affectionate daughters the houſe ſtripped of ſome of the few moveables which remained in it, to perform the laſt office of duty to her, which, ſhe had reaſon to believe they would do. While ſhe was combating with this only remaining anxiety, I happened, though I knew not the extremity of her illneſs, to come in, and to bring with me a guinea, which the generous Colonel had ſent by a ſpecial meſſage, on hearing the character of the family, for its relief. A preſent like this, (probably the moſt conſiderable they had ever received in their lives), coming in this manner from an entire ſtranger, at ſuch a criſis of time, threw my dying friend (for ſuch, amidſt all her poverty, I rejoiced to call her) into a perfect tranſport of joy. She eſteemed it a ſingular favour of providence, ſent to her in her laſt moments, as a token of good, and greeted it as a ſpecial mark of that loving kindneſs of God which ſhould attend her for ever. She would therefore be raiſed up in her bed, that ſhe might bleſs God for it upon her knees, and with her laſt breath pray for her kind and generous benefactor, and for him who had been the inſtrument of directing his bounty

into this channel. After which ſhe ſoon expired, with ſuch tranquility and ſweetneſs, as could not but moſt ſenſibly delight all who beheld her, and occaſioned many who knew the circumſtances, to glorify God on her behalf.

§ 116. The Colonel's laſt reſidence at Northampton was in June and July 1742, when Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons was quartered here: And I cannot but obſerve, that wherever that regiment came, it was remarkable not only for the fine appearance it made, and for the exactneſs with which it performed its various exerciſes, (of which it had about this time the honour to receive the moſt illuſtrious teſtimonials), but alſo for the great ſobriety and regularity of the ſoldiers. Many of the officers copied after the excellent pattern which they had daily before their eyes; and a conſiderable number of the private men ſeemed to be perſons not only of ſtrict virtue, but of ſerious piety. And I doubt not but they found their abundant account in it, not only in the ſerenity and happineſs of their own minds, which is beyond compariſon the moſt important conſideration; but alſo, in ſome degree, in the obliging and reſpectful treatment which they generally met with in their quarters. And I mention this, becauſe

I am perſuaded, that if gentlemen of their profeſſion knew, and would reflect, how much more comfortable they make their own quarters, by a ſober, orderly, and obliging conduct, they would be regular out of mere ſelf-love, if they were not influenced, as I heartily wiſh they may always be, by a nobler principle.

§ 117. Towards the latter end of this year he embarked for Flanders, and ſpent ſome conſiderable time with the regiment at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of thoſe religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. But as he had made ſo eminent a progreſs in that divine life which they are all intended to promote, he could not be unactive in the cauſe of God. I have now before me a letter dated from thence, October 16. 1742, in which he writes, "As for me, I am indeed in a dry "and barren land, where no water is. Ri-"vers of waters run down mine eyes, be-"cauſe nothing is to be heard in our So-"dom, but blaſpheming the name of my "God; and I am not honoured as the inſtru-"ment of doing any great ſervice. 'Tis true, "I have reformed ſix or ſeven field officers of "ſwearing. I dine every day with them, "and have entered them into a voluntary con-

" tract, to pay a ſhilling to the poor for eve-
" ry oath; and it is wonderful to obſerve
" the effect it has had already. One of them
" told me this day at dinner, that it had
" really ſuch an influence upon him, that be-
" ing at cards laſt night, when another officer
" fell a ſwearing, he was not able to bear it,
" but roſe up and left the company. So
" you ſee reſtraints, at firſt ariſing from a
" low principle, may improve into ſomething
" better."

§ 118. During his abode here he had a great deal of buſineſs upon his hands; and had alſo in ſome marches the care of more regiments than his own: And it has been very delightful to me to obſerve, what a degree of converſe with heaven, and the God of it, he maintained, amidſt theſe ſcenes of hurry and fatigue, of which the reader may find a remarkable ſpecimen in the following letters, dated from Litchwick in the beginning of April 1743, which was one of the laſt I received from him while abroad, which begins with theſe words: " Yeſterday,
" being the Lord's day, at ſix in the morning,
" I had the pleaſure of receiving your's at
" Nortonick: and it proved a ſabbath day's
" bleſſing to me. Some time before it reach-
" ed me," (from whence, by the way it may

be obſerved, that his former cuſtom of riſing ſo early to his devotion was ſtill retained) "I had been wreſtling with God with many "tears; and when I had read it, I returned "to my knees again, to give hearty thanks "to him for all his goodneſs to you and "your's and alſo to myſelf, in that he hath "been pleaſed to ſtir up ſo many who are "dear to him to be mindful of me at the "throne of grace." And then, after the mention of ſome other particulars, he adds, "Bleſ-"ſed and adored for ever be the holy name "of my heavenly Father, who holds my ſoul "in life, and my body in perfect health! "Were I to recount his mercy and goodneſs "to me even in the midſt of all theſe hurries, "I ſhould never have done ——I hope your "Maſter will ſtill encourage you in his work, "and make you a bleſſing to many. My dear-"eſt friend, I am much more your's than I "can expreſs, and ſhall remain ſo while I "am J. G."

§ 119. In this correſpondence I had a farther opportunity of diſcovering that humble reſignation to the will of God which made ſo amiable a part of his character, and of which before I had ſeen ſo many inſtances. He ſpeaks, in the letter from which I have juſt been

giving an extract, of the hope he had expreſſed in former letters, of ſeeing us again that winter; and he adds, "To be ſure, it would have "been a great pleaſure to me; but we poor "mortals form projects, and the Almighty "Ruler of the univerſe diſpoſes of all as he "pleaſes. A great many of us were getting "ready for our return to England, when we "received an order to march towards Frank-"fort, to the great ſurpriſe of the whole ar-"my: neither can any of us comprehend what "we are to do there; for there is no enemy "in that country, the French army being "marched into Bavaria, where I am ſure we "cannot follow them. But it is the will of "the Lord; and his will be done! I deſire "to bleſs and praiſe my heavenly Father, that "I am entirely reſigned to it. It is no matter "where I go, or what becomes of me, ſo that "God may be glorified in my life or my "death. I ſhould rejoice much to hear that "all my friends were equally reſigned."

§ 120. The mention of this article reminds me of another, relating to the views which he had of obtaining a regiment for himſelf. He endeavoured to deſerve it by the moſt faithful ſervices, ſome of them indeed beyond what the ſtrength of his conſtitution would

well bear; for the weather in some of these marches proved exceeding bad, and yet he would be always at the head of his people, that he might look to every thing that concerned them with the exactest care. This obliged him to neglect the beginnings of a feverish illness, the natural consequence of which was, that it grew very formidable, forced a long confinement upon him, and gave animal nature a shock which it never recovered.

§ 121. In the mean time, as he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the Colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. With great pleasure do I at this moment recollect the unaffected serenity, and even indifference, with which he expresses himself upon this occasion, in a letter to me, dated about the beginning of April 1743. "The disapointment of a regiment is no-"thing to me; for I am satisfied, that had it

" been for God's glory, I ſhould have had it; " and I ſhould have been ſorry to have had it " on any other terms. My heavenly Father " has beſtowed upon me infinitely more than " if he had made me emperor of the whole " world."

§ 122. I find ſeveral parallel expreſſions in other letters; and thoſe to his lady about the ſame time were juſt in the ſame ſtrain. In an extract from one which was written from Aix la Chapelle, April 21, the ſame year, I meet with theſe words: " People here imagine I " muſt be ſadly troubled that I have not got " a regiment, (for ſix out of ſeven vacant are " now diſpoſed of): but they are ſtrangely " miſtaken; for it has given me no ſort of " trouble: My heavenly Father knows what " is beſt for me; and bleſſed and for ever " adored be his name, he has given me " an entire reſignation to his will: Beſides, I " don't know that ever I met with any diſ- " appointment ſince I was a Chriſtian, but it " pleaſed God to diſcover to me, that it was " plainly for my advantage, by beſtowing ſome- " thing better upon me afterwards: Many in- " ſtances of which I am able to produce; and " therefore I ſhould be the greateſt of mon- " ſters if I did not truſt in him."

§ 123. I ſhould be guilty of a great omiſſion, if I were not to add how remarkable the event correſponded with his faith on this occaſion. For, whereas he had no intimation or expectation of any thing more than a regiment of foot, his Majeſty was pleaſed, out of his great goodneſs, to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered juſt in his own neighbourhood. And it is properly remarked by the reverend and worthy perſon through whoſe hands this letter was tranſmitted to me, that when the Colonel thus expreſſed himſelf, he could have no proſpect of what he afterwards ſo ſoon obtained, as General Bland's regiment, to which he was advanced, was only vacant on the 19th of April; that is, two days before the date of this letter, when it was impoſſible he ſhould have any notice of that vacancy. And it alſo deſerves obſervation, that ſome few days after the Colonel was thus unexpectedly promoted to the command of theſe dragoons, Brigadier Cornwallis's regiment of foot, then in Flanders, became vacant. Now, had this happened before his promotion to General Bland's, Colonel Gardiner, in all probability, would only have had that regiment of foot, and ſo have continued in Flanders. When the affair was iſſued, he informs Lady Francis of it, in

a letter dated from a village near Frankfort, May 3, in which he refers to his former of the 21ſt April, obſerving how remarkably it was verified, "in God's having given him" (for ſo he expreſſes it, agreeably to the views he continually maintained of the univerſal agency of divine providence) "what he had no expec-"tation of, and what was ſo much better "than that which he had miſſed, a regiment "of dragoons quartered at his own door."

§ 124. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event, Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he choſe to return; and, I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been any action. Juſt at this time it pleaſed God to give him an awful inſtance of the uncertainty of human proſpects and enjoyments, by that violent fever which ſeized him at Ghent in his way to England; and perhaps the more ſeverely for the efforts he made to puſh on his journey, though he had for ſome days been much indiſpoſed. It was, I think, one of the firſt fits of ſevere illneſs he had ever met with; and he was ready to look upon it as a ſudden call into eternity: But it gave him no painful alarm in that view. He committed

himſelf to the God of his life; and in a few weeks he was ſo well recovered, as to be capable of purſuing his journey, though not without difficulty: And I cannot but think it might have conduced much to a more perfect recovery than he ever attained, to have allowed himſelf a longer repoſe, in order to recruit his exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits. But there was an activity in his temper not eaſy to be reſtrained; and it was now ſtimulated, not only by a deſire of ſeeing his friends, but of being with his regiment; that he might omit nothing in his power to regulate their morals and their diſcipline, and to form them for public ſervice. Accordingly, he paſſed through London, about the middle of June 1743, where he had the honour of waiting on their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of Wales, and of receiving from both the moſt obliging tokens of favour and eſteem. He arrived at Northampton on Monday the twentieth of June, and ſpent part of three days here. But the great pleaſure which his return and preferment gave us was much abated by obſerving his countenance ſo ſadly altered, and the many marks of languor and remaining diſorder which evidently appeared: ſo that he really looked ten years older than he had done ten months before. I had how-

ever a ſatisfaction ſufficient to counterbalance much of the concern which this alteration gave me, in a renewed opportunity of obſerving, indeed more ſenſibly than ever, in how remarkable a degree he was dead to the enjoyments and views of this mortal life. When I congratulated him on the favourable appearances of Providence for him in the late event, he breifly told me the remarkable circumſtances that attended it, with the moſt genuine impreſſions of gratitude to God for them; but added, "that as his account was "increaſed with his income, power, and in-"fluence, and his cares were proportionably "increaſed too, it was, as to his own perſon-"al concern, much the ſame to him, whe-"ther he had remained in his former ſtation, "or been elevated to this; but that if God "ſhould by this means honour him, as an "inſtrument of doing more good than he "could otherwiſe have done, he ſhould rejoice "in it."

§ 125. I perceived that the near views he had of eternity, in the illneſs from which he was then ſo imperfectly recovered, had not in the leaſt alarmed him; but that he would have been entirely willing, had ſuch been the determination of God, to have been cut ſhort in a foreign land, without any earthly friend

near him, and in the midſt of a journey undertaken with hopes and proſpects ſo pleaſing to nature; which appeared to me no inconſiderable evidence of the ſtrength of his faith. But we ſhall wonder the leſs at this extraordinary reſignation, if we conſider the joyful and aſſured proſpect which he had of an happineſs infinitely ſuperior beyond the grave; of which that worthy miniſter of the church of Scotland, who had an opportunity of converſing with him quickly after his return, and having the memorable ſtory of his converſion from his own mouth, (as I have hinted above), writes thus in his letter to me, dated Jan. 14. 1746-7. "When he came to review "his regiment at Linlithgow in ſummer 1743, "after having given me the wonderful ſtory "as above, he concluded in words to this "purpoſe:——Let me die whenever it ſhall "pleaſe God, or wherever it ſhall be, I am "ſure I ſhall go to the manſions of eternal "glory, and enjoy my God and my Redeemer "in heaven for ever."

§ 126. While he was with us at this time, he appeared deeply affected with the ſad ſtate of things as to religion and morals, and ſeemed to apprehend that the rod of God was hanging over ſo ſinful a nation. He obſerved a great deal of diſaffection, which the ene-

mies of the government had, by a variety of artifices, been raiſing in Scotland for ſome years; and the number of Jacobites there, together with the defenceleſs ſtate in which our iſland then was, with reſpect to the number of its forces at home, (of which he ſpoke at once with great concern and aſtoniſhment), led him to expect an invaſion from France, and an attempt in favour of the Pretender, much ſooner than it happened. I have heard him ſay, many years before it came ſo near being accompliſhed, "that a few thouſands "might have a fair chance for marching from "Edinburgh to London uncontrouled, and "throw the whole kingdom into an aſtoniſh-"ment." And I have great reaſon to believe, that this was one main conſideration which engaged him to make ſuch haſte to his regiment, then quartered in thoſe parts; as he imagined there was not a ſpot of ground where he might be more like to have a call to expoſe his life in the ſervice of his country; and perhaps, by appearing on a proper call early in its defence, be inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the beginnings of moſt formidable miſchief. How rightly he judged in theſe things, the event did too evidently ſhew.

§ 127. The evening before our laſt ſeparation, as I knew I could not entertain the invaluable friend who was then my gueſt more agreeably, I preached a ſermon in my own houſe, with ſome peculiar reference to his caſe and circumſtances, from thoſe ever-memorable words, than which I have never felt any more powerful and more comfortable, Pſalm xci. 14, 15, 16. "Becauſe he hath ſet his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will ſet him on high, becauſe he hath known my name: He ſhall call upon me and I will anſwer him: I will be with him in trouble! I will deliver him, and honour him: With long life, (or length of days) will I ſatisfy him, and ſhew him my ſalvation." This ſcripture could not but lead our meditations to ſurvey the character of the good man, as one who ſo knows the name of the bleſſed God, (has ſuch a deep apprehenſion of the glories and perfections of his nature), as determinately to ſet his love upon him, to make him the ſupreme object of his moſt ardent and conſtant affection. And it ſuggeſted the moſt ſublime and animating hopes to perſons of ſuch a character; that their prayers ſhall be always acceptable to God; that though they may, and muſt, be called out to their ſhare

in the troubles and calamities of life, yet they may aſſure themſelves of the divine preſence in all; which ſhall iſſue in their deliverance, in their exaltation, ſometimes to diſtinguiſhed honour and eſteem among men, and, it may be, in a long courſe of uſeful and happy years on earth; at leaſt, which ſhall undoubtedly end in ſeeing, to their perpetual delight, the complete ſalvation of God, in a world where they ſhall enjoy length of days for ever and ever, and employ them all in adoring the great Author of their ſalvation and felicity. It is evident that theſe natural thoughts on ſuch a ſcripture were matters of univerſal concern. Yet had I known that this was the laſt time I ſhould ever addreſs Colonel Gardiner, as a miniſter of the goſpel, and had I foreſeen the ſcenes through which God was about to lead him, I hardly know what conſiderations I could have ſuggeſted with more peculiar propriety. The attention, elevation, and delight with which he heard them, was very apparent; and the pleaſure which the obſervation of it gave me continues to this moment. And let me be permitted to diſgreſs ſo far, as to add, that this is indeed the great ſupport of a Chriſtian miniſter, under the many diſcouragements and diſappointments which he meets with in his

attempts to fix upon the profligate or the thoughtleſs part of mankind a deep ſenſe of religious truth; that there is another important part of his work, in which he may hope to be more generally ſucceſsful; as by plain, artleſs, but ſerious diſcourſes, the great principles of Chriſtian duty and hope may be nouriſhed and invigorated in good men, their graces watered as at the root, and their ſouls animated both to perſevere, and improve in holineſs. And when we are effectually performing ſuch benevolent offices, ſo well ſuiting our immortal natures, to perſons whoſe hearts are cemented with others in the bonds of the moſt endearing and ſacred friendſhip, it is too little to ſay it overpays the fatigue of our labours; it even ſwallows up all ſenſe of it, in the moſt rational and ſublime pleaſure.

§ 128. An incident occurs to my mind, which happened that evening, which at leaſt for the oddneſs of it may deſerve a place in theſe memoirs. I had then with me one Thomas Porter, a poor, but very honeſt and religions man, (now living at Hatfield Broad-oak in Eſſex) who is quite unacquainted with letters, ſo as not to be able to diſtinguiſh one from another; yet is maſter of the contents

of the Bible, in ſo extraordinary a degree, that he has not only fixed an immenſe number of texts in his memory, but merely by hearing them quoted in ſermons, has regiſtered there the chapter and verſe in which theſe paſſages are to be found: This is attended with a marvellous facility in directing thoſe that can read to turn to them, and a moſt unaccountable talent of fixing on ſuch as ſuit almoſt every imaginable variety of circumſtances in common life. There are two conſiderations in his caſe, which make it the more wonderful: The one, that he is a perſon of a very low genius, having beſides a ſtammering which makes his ſpeech almoſt unintelligible to ſtrangers, ſo wild and aukward a manner of behaviour, that he is frequently taken for an idiot, and ſeems in many things to be indeed ſo: The other, that he grew up to manhood in a very licentious courſe of living, and an entire ignorance of divine things, ſo that all theſe exact impreſſions on his memory have been made in his riper years. I thought it would not be diſagreeable to the Colonel to introduce to him this odd phenomenon, which many hundreds of people have had a curioſity to examine: And among all the ſtrange things I have ſeen in him, I never remember any which equalled what paſſed

on this occaſion. On hearing the Colonel's profeſſion, and receiving ſome hints of his religious character, he ran through a vaſt variety of ſcriptures, beginning at the Pentateuch, and going on to the Revelation, relating either to the dependence, to be fixed on God for the ſucceſs of military preparations, or to the inſtances and promiſes occurring there of his care of good men in the moſt imminent dangers, or to the encouragement to deſpiſe perils and death, while engaged in a good cauſe, and ſupported by the views of a happy immortality. I believe he quoted more than twenty of theſe paſſages; and I muſt freely own that I know not who could have choſe them with greater propriety. If my memory do not deceive me, the laſt of this catalogue was that from which I afterwards preached on the lamented occaſion of this great man's fall: "Be thou "faithful unto death, and I will give thee a "crown of life." We were all aſtoniſhed at ſo remarkable a fact; and I queſtion not, but that many of my readers will think the memory of it worthy of being thus preſerved.

§ 129. But to return to my main ſubject: The next day after the ſermon and converſation of which I have been ſpeaking, I took my laſt leave of my ineſtimable friend, after

attending him ſome part of his way northward. The firſt ſtage of our journey was to the cottage of that poor, but very religious family, which I had occaſion to mention above, as relieved, and indeed in a great meaſure ſubſiſted, by his charity. And nothing could be more delightful, than to obſerve the condeſcenſion with which he converſed with theſe his humble penſioners. We there put up our laſt united prayers together; and he afterwards expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms I ever heard him uſe on ſuch an occaſion, the ſingular pleaſure with which he had joined in them. Indeed, it was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me to have an opportunity of recommending ſuch a valuable friend to the protection and bleſſing, with that particular freedom and enlargement on what was peculiar in his circumſtances, which hardly any other ſituation, unleſs we had been quite alone, could ſo conveniently have admitted. We went from thence to the table of a perſon of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, where he had an opportunity of ſhewing in how decent and graceful a manner he could unite the Chriſtian and the gentleman, and give converſation an improving and religious turn, without violating any of the rules of polite behaviour, or ſaying or doing any thing which looked at all conſtrained or

affected. Here we took our laſt embrace, committed each other to the care of the God of heaven; and the Colonel purſued his journey to the north, where he ſpent all the remainder of his days.

§ 130. The more I reflect upon this appointment of providence, the more I diſcern of the beauty and wiſdom of it; not only as it led directly to that glorious period of life with which God had determined to honour him, and in which, I think, it becomes all his friends to rejoice, but alſo, as the retirement on which he entered could not but have a happy tendency to favour his more immediate and complete preparation for ſo ſpeedy a remove; to which we may add, that it muſt probably have a very powerful influence to promote the intereſts of religion (incomparably the greateſt of all intereſts) among the members of his own family; who muſt ſurely edify much by ſuch daily leſſons as they received from his lips, when they ſaw them illuſtrated and enforced by ſo admirable an example, and this for two complete years. It is the more remarkable, as I cannot find from the memoirs of his life in my hands, that he had ever been ſo long at home ſince he had a family, or indeed from his childhood, ever ſo long at a time in any one place.

§ 131. With how clear a luſtre his lamp ſhone, and with what holy vigour his loins were girded up in the ſervice of his God, in theſe his latter days, I learn in part from the letters of ſeveral excellent perſons in the miniſtry, or in ſecular life, with whom I have ſince converſed or correſponded. And in his many letters, dated from Bankton during this period, I have ſtill farther evidence, how happy he was, amidſt thoſe infirmities of body which his tenderneſs for me would ſeldom allow him to mention; for it appears from them, what a daily intercourſe he kept up with heaven, and what delightful communion with God crowned his attendance on public ordinances, and his ſweet hours of devout retirement. He mentions his ſacramental opportunities with peculiar reliſh, crying out as in a holy rapture, in reference to one and another of them, "Oh how gracious a Maſter "do we ſerve! how pleaſant is his ſervice! "how rich the entertainment of his love! "yet, oh how poor and cold are our ſervices!" But I will not multiply quotations of this ſort, after thoſe I have given above, which may be a ſufficient ſpecimen of many more in the ſame ſtrain. This hint may ſuffice to ſhew, that the ſame ardour of ſoul held out in a great meaſure to the laſt; and indeed it ſeems, that

towards the close of life, like the flame of a lamp almost expiring, it sometimes exerted an unusual blaze.

§ 132. He spent much of his time at Bankton in religious solitude; and one most intimately conversant with him assures me, that the traces of that delightful converse with God which he enjoyed in it might easily be discerned in that solemn, yet cheerful countenance, with which he often came out of his closet. Yet his exercises there must sometimes have been very mournful, considering the melancholy views which he had of the state of our public affairs. "I should be glad," says he, (in a letter which he sent me, about the close of the year 1743), "to hear what wise "and good people among you think of the "present circumstances of things. For my "own part, though I thank God I fear no-"thing for myself, my apprehensions for the "public are very gloomy, considering the de-"plorable prevalency of almost all kinds of "wickedness amongst us; the natural conse-"quence of the contempt of the gospel, I am "daily offering my prayers to God for this "sinful land of ours, over which his judg-"ment seems to be gathering; and my "strength is sometimes so exhausted with "those strong cries and tears, which I pour

" out before God on this occaſion, that I am " hardly able to ſtand when I ariſe from my " knees." If we have many remaining to ſtand in the breach with equal fervency, I hope, crying as our provocations are, God will ſtill be intreated for us, and ſave us.

§ 133. Moſt of the other letters I had the pleaſure of receiving from him after our laſt ſeparation are either filled, like thoſe of former years, with tender expreſſions of affectionate ſolicitude for my domeſtic comfort and public uſefulneſs, or relate to the writings I publiſhed during this time, or to the affairs of his eldeſt ſon, then under my care. But theſe are things which are by no means of a nature to be communicated here. It is enough to remark in the general, that the Chriſtian was ſtill mingled with all the care of the friend and the parent.

§ 134. But I think it incumbent upon me to obſerve, that during this time, and for ſome preceding years, his attention, ever wakeful to ſuch concerns, was much engaged by ſome religious appearences, which happened about this time both in England and Scotland; of which ſome may be curious to know his ſentiments. He communicated them to me with the moſt unreſerved freedom; and I cannot apprehend myſelf under any engagements to

conceal them, as I am perſuaded that it will be no prejudice to his memory that they ſhould be publicly known.

§ 135. It was from Colonel Gardiner's pen that I received the firſt notice of that ever memorable ſcene which was opened at Kilſyth, under the miniſtry of the Rev. Mr M'Culloch, in the month of February 1741-2. He communicated to me the copy of two letters from that eminently favoured ſervant of God, giving an account of that extraordinary ſucceſs which had within a few days accompanied his preaching; when, as I remember, in a little more than a fortnight, a hundred and thirty ſouls, who had before continued in long inſenſibility under the faithful preaching of the goſpel, were awakened on a ſudden to attend to it, as if it had been a new revelation brought down from heaven, and atteſted by as aſtoniſhing miracles as ever were wrought by Peter or Paul; though they heard it only from a perſon under whoſe miniſtry they had ſat for ſeveral years. Struck with a power and majeſty in the word of God, which they had never felt before, they crowded his houſe night and day, making their applications to him for ſpiritual direction and aſſiſtance, with an earneſtneſs and ſolicitude, which floods of tears and cries, that ſwallowed up their own words

and his, could not ſufficicently expreſs. The Colonel mentioned this at firſt to me, "as "matter of eternal praiſe, which he knew "would rejoice my very ſoul:" And when he ſaw it ſpread in the neighbouring parts, and obſerved the glorious reformation which it produced in the lives of great multitudes, and the abiding fruits of it for ſucceeding months and years, it increaſed and confirmed his joy. But the facts relating to this matter have been laid before the world in ſo authentic a manner, and the agency of divine grace in them has been ſo rationally vindicated, and ſo pathetically repreſented, in what the reverend and judicious Mr Webſter has written upon that ſubject, that it is altogether ſuperfluous for me to add any thing farther than my hearty prayers, that the work may be as extenſive as it was apparently glorious and divine.

§ 135. It was with great pleaſure that he received any intelligence of a like kind from England, whether the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church or diſſenting miniſters, whether our own countrymen or foreigners, were the inſtruments of it. And whatever weakneſſes or errors might mingle themſelves with valuable qualities in ſuch as were active in ſuch a work, he appeared to love and honour them in proportion to the degree he ſaw reaſon to believe

their hearts were devoted to the ſervice of Chriſt, and their attempts owned and ſucceeded by him. I remember, that mentioning one of theſe gentlemen who had been remarkably ſucceſsful in his miniſtry, and ſeemed to have met with ſome very unkind uſage, he ſays, "I "had rather be that deſpiſed perſecuted man, "to be an inſtrument in the hand of the Spi-"rit, in converting ſo many ſouls, and build-"ing up ſo many in their holy faith, than I "would be emperor of the whole world." Yet this ſteady and judicious Chriſtian, (for ſuch he moſt aſſuredly was), at the ſame time that he eſteemed a man for his good intention and his worthy qnalities, did not ſuffer himſelf to be hurried away into all the ſingularity of his ſentiments, or to admire his imprudences or exceſſes. On the contrary, he ſaw and lamented that artifice which the great father of fraud has ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully been practiſing; who, like the enemies of Iſrael, when he cannot entirely prevent the building of God's temple, does as it were offer his aſſiſtance to carry on the work, that he may thereby get the moſt effectual opportunities of obſtructing it. The Colonel often expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the wide extremes into which ſome, whom, on the whole, he thought

very worthy men, were permitted to run in many doctrinal and ſpeculative points; and diſcerned how evidently it appeared from hence, that we cannot argue the truth of any doctrine from the ſucceſs of the preacher; ſince this would be a kind of demonſtration, (if I may be allowed the expreſſion), which might equally prove both parts of a contradiction. Yet when he obſerved, that an high regard to the atonement and righteouſneſs of Chriſt, and to the free grace of God in him, exerted by the operation of the Divine Spirit, was generally common to all who had been peculiarly ſucceſsful in the converſion and reformation of men, (how widely ſoever their judgments might differ in other points, and how warmly ſoever they might oppoſe each other in conſequence of that diverſity); it tended greatly to confirm his faith in theſe principles, as well as to open his heart in love to all of every denomination who maintained an affectionate regard to them. And though what he remarked as to the conduct and ſucceſs of miniſters of the moſt oppoſite ſtrains of preaching, confirmed him in theſe ſentiments, yet he always eſteemed and loved virtuous and benevolent men, even where he thought them moſt miſtaken in the notions they formed of

religion, or in the methods by which they attempted to ſerve it.

§ 137. While I thus repreſent what all who knew him muſt ſoon have obſerved of Colonel Gardiner's affectionate regard to theſe peculiar doctrines of our holy religion, it is neceſſary that I ſhould alſo inform my reader, that it was not his judgment that the attention of miniſters or their hearers ſhould be wholly ingroſſed by theſe, excellent as they are; but that all the parts of the ſcheme of truth and duty ſhould be regarded in their due connection and proportion. Far from that diſtempered taſte, which can bear nothing but cordials, it was his deliberate judgment that the law ſhould be preached, as well as the goſpel; and hardly any thing gave him greater offence than the irreverent manner in which ſome, who have been ignorantly extolled as the moſt zealous evangelical preachers, have ſometimes been tempted to ſpeak of the former; much indeed to the ſcandal of all conſiſtent and judicious Chriſtians. He delighted to be inſtructed in his duty, and to hear much of the inward exerciſes of the ſpiritual and divine life. And he always wiſhed, ſo far as I could obſerve, to have theſe topics treated in a rational, as well as a ſpiritual manner, with ſolidity

and order of thought, with perſpicuity and weight of expreſſion; as well knowing that religion is a moſt reaſonable ſervice; that God has not choſen idiots or lunatics as the inſtruments, or nonſenſe as the means of building up his church; and that, though the charge of enthuſiaſm is often fixed on Chriſtianity and its miniſters, in a wild, undeſerved, and indeed (on the whole) enthuſiaſtical manner, by ſome of the loudeſt or moſt ſolemn pretenders to reaſon; yet there is really ſuch a thing as enthuſiaſm, againſt which it becomes the true friends of the revelation to be diligently on their guard, leſt Chriſtianity, inſtead of being exalted, ſhould be greatly corrupted and debaſed, and all manner of abſurdity, both in doctrine and practice, introduced, by methods, which (like perſecution) throw truth and falſehood on a level, and render the groſſeſt errors at once more plauſible and more incurable. He had too much candour and equity to fix general charges of this nature; but he was really (and I think not vainly) apprehenſive, that the emiſſaries and agents of the moſt corrupt church that ever diſhonoured the Chriſtian name, (by which, it will eaſily be underſtood I mean that of Rome), might very poſſibly inſinuate themſelves into ſocieties, to which they could not otherwiſe have acceſs,

and make their advantage of that total reſignation of the underſtanding, and contempt of reaſon and learning, which nothing but ignorance, delirium, or knavery can dictate, to lead men blindfold whither it pleaſed, till it ſet them down at the foot of an altar, where tranſubſtantiation itſelf is conſecrated.

§ 138. I know not where I can more properly introduce another part of the Colonel's character, which, obnoxious as it was, I have not yet touched upon; I mean his tenderneſs to thoſe who were under any ſpiritual diſtreſs, wherein he was indeed an example to miniſters, in a duty more peculiarly theirs. I have ſeen many amiable inſtances of this myſelf, and I have been informed of many others, one of which happened about the time of that awakening in the weſtern parts of Scotland, which I touched upon above, when the Rev. Mr M'Laurin of Glaſgow found occaſion to witneſs to the great propriety, judgment, and felicity of manner with which he addreſſed ſpiritual conſolation to an afflicted ſoul, who applied to the profeſſor at a time when he had not an opportunity immediately to give audience to the caſe. And indeed, as long ago as the year 1726, I find him writing to a friend in a ſtrain of tenderneſs in this regard, which might well have become the moſt affectionate

and experienced paſtor. He there congratulates him on ſome religious enjoyments lately received, (in part, it ſeems, by his means), when among others he has this modeſt expreſſion, "If I have been made any way the "means of doing you good, give the whole "glory to God, for he has been willing to "ſhew that the power was entirely of himſelf, ſince he has been pleaſed to make uſe "of ſo very weak an inſtrument." In the ſame letter he admoniſhes his friend, that he ſhould not be two much ſurpriſed, if after having been (as he expreſſes it), upon the mount, he ſhould be brought into the valley again; and reminds him that "we live by faith, and "not by ſenſible aſſurance;" repreſenting, that there are ſome ſuch full communications from God as ſeem almoſt to ſwallow up the actings of faith, from whence they take their riſe: "Whereas, when a Chriſtian who walks "in darkneſs, and ſees no light, will yet hang "(as it were) on the report of an abſent Je"ſus, and," as one expreſſes it, in alluſion to the ſtory of Jacob and Joſeph, "can put himſelf as on the chariot of the promiſes, to be "born on to him, whom now he ſees not; "there may be ſublimer and more acceptable "actings of a pure and ſtrong faith, than in "moments which afford the ſoul a much

"more rapturous delight." This is the ſubſtance of what he ſays in the excellent letter. Some of the phraſes made uſe of might not perhaps be intelligible to ſeveral of my readers, for which reaſon I do not exactly tranſcribe them all; but this is plainly and fully his meaning, and moſt of the words are his own. The ſentiment is ſurely very juſt and important; and happy would it be for many excellent perſons, who, through wrong notions of the nature of faith (which was never more miſrepreſented than now among ſome), are perplexing themſelves with moſt groundleſs doubts and ſcruples, if it were more generally underſtood, admitted and conſidered.

§ 139. An endeared friend, who was moſt intimately converſant with the Colonel during the two laſt years of his life, has favoured me with an account of ſome little circumſtances relating to him, which I eſteem as precious fragments, by which the conſiſtent tenor of his character may be farther illuſtrated. I ſhall therefore inſert them here, without being very ſolicitous as to the order in which they are introduced.

§ 140. He perceived himſelf evidently in a very declining ſtate from his firſt arrival in Britain, and ſeemed to entertain a fixed apprehenſion that he ſhould continue but a little

while longer in life. "He expected death," ſays my good correſpondent, "and was de-"lighted with the proſpect," which did not grow leſs amiable by a nearer approach. The word of God, with which he had as intimate an acquaintance as moſt men I ever knew, and on which (eſpecially on the New Teſtament), have heard him make many very judicious and accurate remarks, was ſtill his daily ſtudy; and it furniſhed him with matter of frequent converſation, much to the edification and comfort of thoſe that were about him. It was recollected, that among other paſſages, he had lately ſpoken of the following as having made a deep impreſſion on his mind: My ſoul, wait thou only upon God! He would repeat it again and again, *only, only, only!* So plainly did he ſee, and ſo deeply did he feel, the vanity of creature-confidences and expectations. With the ſtrongeſt atteſtation would he often mention thoſe words in Iſaiah, as verified by long experience: "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee, becauſe he truſteth in thee." And with peculiar ſatisfaction would he utter theſe heroic words in Habakkuk, which he found armour of proof againſt every fear and every contingency: "Tho' the fig-tree ſhall not bloſſom, neither ſhall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive ſhall fail,

and the fields ſhall yield no meat; the flocks ſhall be cut off from the fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the ſtalls: Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my ſalvation." The 145th pſalm was alſo ſpoken of by him with great delight, and Dr Watt's verſion of it; as well as ſeveral other of that excellent perſon's poetical compoſures. My friend who tranſmits to me this account adds the following words, which I deſire to inſert with the deepeſt ſentiments of unfeigned humility and ſelf-abaſement before God, as moſt unworthy the honour of contributing in the leaſt degree to the joys and graces of one ſo much my ſuperior in every part of the Chriſtian character: "As the joy with which "good men ſee the happy fruits of their la- "bours makes a part of the preſent reward "of the ſervants of God and the friends of "Jeſus, it muſt not be omitted, even in a let- "ter to you, that your ſpiritual hymns were "among his moſt delightful and ſoul-improv- "ing repaſts; particularly thoſe on behold- "ing tranſgreſſors with grief, and Chriſt's "meſſage." What is added concerning my book of the Riſe and Progreſs of Religion, and the terms in which he expreſſed his eſteem of it, I cannot ſuffer to paſs my pen; only deſire moſt ſincerely to bleſs God, that eſpeci-

ally by the laſt chapters of that treatiſe, I had an opportunity at ſo great a diſtance of exhibiting ſome offices of Chriſtian friendſhip to this excellent perſon in the cloſing ſcenes of life, which it would have been my greateſt joy to have performed in perſon, had Providence permitted me then to have been near him.

§ 141. The former of thoſe hymns my correſpondent mentions as having been ſo agreeable to Colonel Gardiner, I have given the reader above, at the end of ſect. 101. The latter, which is called Chriſt's Meſſage, took its riſe from Luke iv. 18. & ſeq. and is as follows:

Hark! the glad ſound! The Saviour comes,
The Saviour promis'd long!
Let ev'ry heart prepare a throne,
And ev'ry voice a ſong.

On him the Spirit largely pour'd
Exerts it ſacred fire:
Wiſdom, and might, and zeal, and love,
His holy breaſt inſpire.

He comes the priſoners to releaſe
In Satan's bondage held:
The gates of braſs before him burſt,
The iron fetters yield.

He comes, from thickeſt films of vice,
To clear the mental ray;
And on the eye-balls of the blind
To pour celeſtial day *.

He comes, the broken heart to bind,
The bleeding ſoul to cure;
And with the treaſures of his grace
T' inrich the humble poor.

His ſilver trumpets publiſh loud
The jubilee of the Lord;
Our debts are all remitted now,
Our heritage reſtor'd.

Our glad hoſannahs, Prince of Peace,
Thy welcome ſhall proclaim;
And heaven's eternal arches ring
With thy beloved name.

§ 142. There is one hymn more I ſhall beg leave to add, plain as it is, which Colonel Gardiner has been heard to mention with particular regard, as expreſſing the inmoſt ſentiments of his ſoul; and they were undoubtedly ſo, in the laſt rational moments of his expiring life. It is called, *Chriſt precious to the Believer*; and was compoſed to be ſung after a ſermon on 1 Peter ii. 7.

* This ſtanza is moſtly borrowed from Mr Pope.

Jeſus! I love thy charming name,
'Tis muſic to my ear:
Fain would I ſound it out ſo loud,
That earth and heaven ſhould hear.

Yes, thou art precious to my ſoul,
My tranſport, and my truſt:
Jewels to thee are gaudy toys,
And gold is ſordid duſt.

All my capacious powers can wiſh,
In thee moſt richly meet:
Nor to my eyes is life ſo dear,
Nor friendſhip half ſo ſweet.

All my capacious pow'rs can wiſh,
In thee moſt richly meet:
Nor to my eyes is life ſo dear,
Nor friendſhip half ſo ſweet.

Thy grace ſtill dwells upon my heart,
And ſheds its fragrance there;
The nobleſt balm of all its wounds,
The cordial of its care.

I'll ſpeak the honours of thy name
With my laſt lab'ring breath;
Then ſpeechleſs, claſp thee in my arms,
The antidote of death.

§ 143. Thoſe who were intimate with Colonel Gardiner muſt have obſerved how ready he was to give a devotional turn to any ſub-

ject that occurred. And in particular, the ſpiritual and heavenly diſpoſition of his ſoul diſcovered itſelf in the reflections and improvements which he made when reading hiſtory; in which he took a great deal of pleaſure, as perſons remarkable for their knowledge of mankind, and obſervation of providence, generally do. I have an inſtance of this before me, which, though too natural to be at all ſurpriſing, will, I dare ſay, be pleaſing to the devout mind. He had been juſt reading in Rollin's extract from Xenophon the anſwer which the Lady of Triganes made, when all the company were extolling Cyrus, and expreſſing the admiration with which his appearance and behaviour ſtruck them. The queſtion being aſked her, What ſhe thought of him? ſhe anſwered, I don't know, I did not obſerve him. On what then, ſaid one of the company, did you fix your attention? On him, replied ſhe, (referring to the generous ſpeech which her huſband had juſt made), who ſaid he would give a thouſand lives to ranſom my liberty. "Oh," cried the Colonel, when reading it, "how ought we to fix our "eyes and hearts on Him, who, not in offer, "but in reality, gave his own precious life "to ranſom us from the moſt dreadful ſlave-

" ry, and from eternal deſtruction!" But this is only one inſtance among a thouſand. His heart was ſo habitually ſet upon divine things, and he had ſuch a permanent and overflowing ſenſe of the love of Chriſt, that he could not forbear connecting ſuch reflections with a multitude of more diſtant occaſions occurring in daily life, where leſs advanced Chriſtians would not have thought of them: And thus, like our great maſter, he made every little incident a ſource of devotion, and an inſtrument of holy zeal.

§ 144. Enfeebled as his conſtitution was, he was ſtill intent on improving his time to ſome valuable purpoſes: And when his friends expoſtulated with him, that he gave his body ſo little reſt, he uſed to anſwer "It will reſt long "enough in the grave."

§ 145. The July before his death, he was perſuaded to take a journey to Scarborough for the recovery of his health; from which he was at leaſt encouraged to expect ſome little revival. After this, he had thoughts of going to London, and deſigned to have ſpent part of September at Northampton. The expectation of this was mutually agreeable; but providence ſaw fit to diſconcert the ſcheme. His love for his friends in theſe parts occaſioned

him to expreſs ſome regret on his being commanded back: And I am pretty confident, from the manner in which he expreſſed himſelf in one of his laſt letters to me, that he had ſome more important reaſons for wiſhing an opportunity of making a London journey juſt at that criſis, which, the reader will remember, was before the rebellion broke out. But, as providence determined it otherwiſe, he acquieſced; and I am well ſatisfied, that could he have diſtinctly forſeen the approaching event, ſo far as it concerned his own perſon, he would have eſteemed it the happieſt ſummons he ever received. While he was at Scarborough, I find by a letter dated from thence, July 26 1745, that he had been informed of the gaiety which ſo unſeaſonably prevailed at Edinburgh, where great multitudes were then ſpending their time in balls, aſſemblies, and other gay amuſements, little mindful of the rod of God which was then hanging over them; on which occaſion he hath this expreſſion: "I am greatly ſurpriſed that "the people of Edinburgh ſhould be employ-"ed in ſuch fooliſh diverſions when our ſitu-"ation is at preſent more melancholy than "ever I ſaw it in my life. But there is one "thing which I am very ſure of, that com-

" forts me, viz. that it ſhall go well with the " righteous, come what will."

§ 146. Quickly after his return home, the flame burſt out, and his regiment was ordered to Stirling. It was in the caſtle there that his lady and eldeſt daughter enjoyed the laſt happy hours of his company; and I think it was about eight or ten days before his death that he parted from them there. A remarkable circumſtance attended that parting, which hath been touched upon by ſurviving friends in more than one of their letters to me. His Lady was ſo affected when ſhe took her laſt leave of him, that ſhe could not forbear burſting out into a flood of tears, with other marks of unuſual emotion. And when he aſked her the reaſon, ſhe urged the apprehenſion ſhe had of loſing ſuch an invaluable friend, amidſt the dangers to which he was then called out, as a very ſufficient apology. Upon which ſhe took particular notice, that whereas he had generally comforted her on ſuch occaſions, by pleading with her that remarkable hand of providence which had ſo frequently, in former inſtances, been exerted for his preſervation, and that in the greateſt extremity he ſaid nothing of it now; but only replied, in his ſententious manner, " We have an eternity to ſpend to- " gether."

§ 147. That heroic contempt of death, which had often diſcovered itſelf in the midſt of former dangers, was manifeſted now in his diſcourſe with ſeveral of his moſt intimate friends. I have reſerved for this place one genuine expreſſion of it many years before, which I thought might be mentioned with ſome advantage here. In July 1715, he had been ſent to ſome place, not far from Hamilton, to quell a mutiny among ſome of our troops. I know not the particular occaſion; but I remember to have heard him mention it as ſo fierce a one, that he ſcarce ever apprehended himſelf in a more hazardous circumſtance. Yet he quelled it by his preſence alone, and the expoſtulations he uſed; evidently putting his life into his hand to do it. The particulars of the ſtory ſtruck me much; but I do not ſo exactly remember them, as to venture to relate them here. I only obſerve, that in a letter, dated July 16. that year, which I have now before me, and which evidently refers to this event, he writes thus: "I have been very buſy, hurried about from "place to place; but, bleſſed be God, all is "over without bloodſhed. And pray let me "aſk, What made you ſhew ſo much concern "for me in your laſt? Were you afraid I

" ſhould get to heaven before you? Or can " any evil befall thoſe who are followers of " that which is good *?"

§ 148. And as theſe were his ſentiments in the vigour of his days, ſo neither did declining years and the infirmities of a broken conſtitution on the one hand, nor any deſires of enjoying the honours and profits of ſo high a ſtation, or (what was much more to him) the converſe of the moſt affectionate of wives and ſo many amiable children and friends on the other, enervate his ſpirits in the leaſt: But as he had in former years often expreſſed it to me, and ſeveral others, as his deſire, " that if " it were the will of God, he might have " ſome honourable call to ſacrifice his life in " defence of religion and the liberties of his " country;" ſo when it appeared to him

* I doubt not but this will remind ſome of my readers of that noble ſpeech of Zuingulis, when (according to the uſage of that country) attending his flock to a battle, in which their religion and liberties were all at ſtake, on his receiving a mortal wound by a bullet, of which he ſoon expired, while his friends were in all the firſt aſtoniſhment of grief, he bravely ſaid as he was dying, " Ecquid hoc infortunii? Is this to be reckoned a misfortune? How many of our Deiſts would have celebrated ſuch a ſentance, if it had come from the lips of an ancient Roman? Strange, that the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſo odious, that the brighteſt virtues of his followers ſhould be deſpiſed for his ſake! but ſo it is; and ſo our Maſter told us it would be: And our faith is in this connexion confirmed by thoſe that ſtrive moſt to overthrow it.

moſt probable that he might be called to it immediately, he met the ſummons with the greateſt readineſs. This appears in part from a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Adams of Falkirk, juſt as he was marching from Stirling, which was only eight days before his death: "The rebels, ſays he, "are "advancing to croſs the Frith; but I truſt in "the Almighty God, who doth whatſoever "he pleaſes, in the armies of heaven, and a-"mong the inhabitants of the earth." And the ſame gentleman tells me, that a few days after the date of this, he marched through Falkirk with his regiment; and though he was then in ſo languiſhing a ſtate, that he needed his aſſiſtance as a ſecretary to write for ſome reinforcement, which might put it in his power to make a ſtand, (as he was very deſirous to have done), he expreſſed a moſt genuine and noble contempt of life, when to be expoſed in the defence of a worthy cauſe.

§ 149. Theſe ſentiments wrought in him to the laſt in the moſt effectual manner; and he ſeemed for a while to have infuſed them into the regiment which he commanded: For they expreſſed ſuch a ſpirit in their march from Stirling, that I am aſſured the Colonel was obliged to exert all his authority to prevent their making incurſions on the rebel army,

which then lay very near them: and had it been thought proper to ſend him the reinforcement he requeſted, none can ſay what the conſequence might have been: But he was ordered to march as faſt as poſſible to meet Sir John Cope's forces at Dunbar: which he did. And that haſty retreat, in concurrence with the news which they ſoon after received of the ſurrender of Edinburgh to the rebels, (either by the treachery or weakneſs of a few, in oppoſition to the judgment of by far the greater and better part of the inhabitants), ſtruck a panic into both the regiments of dragoons, which became viſible in ſome very apparent and remarkable circumſtances in their behaviour, which I forbear to relate. This affected Colonel Gardiner ſo much, that on the Thurſday before the fatal action at Preſtonpans, he intimated to an officer of conſiderable rank and note, (from whom I had it by a very ſure channel of conveyence), that he expected the event would be as in fact it was. In this view, there is all imaginable reaſon to believe he had formed his reſolution as to his own perſonal conduct, which was, "that he would not, in caſe of the flight of "thoſe under his command, retreat with "them;" by which, as it ſeemed, he was reaſonably apprehenſive he might have ſtained

the honour of his former ſervices, and have given ſome occaſion for the enemy to have ſpoken reproachfully. He much rather choſe, if Providence gave him the call, to leave in his death an example of fidelity and bravery, which might very probably be (as in fact it ſeems indeed to have been) of much greater importance to his country, than any other ſervice, which in the few days of remaining life he could expect to render it. I conclude theſe to have been his views, not only from what I knew of his general character and temper, but likewiſe from ſome intimations which he gave to a very worthy perſon from Edinburgh, who viſited him the day before the action; to whom he ſaid, "I cannot influence "the conduct of others, as I could wiſh, but "I have one life to ſacrifice to my country's "ſafety, and I ſhall not ſpare it;" or words to that effect.

§ 150. I have heard ſuch a multitude of inconſiſtent reports of the circumſtances of Colonel Gardiner's death, that I had almoſt deſpaired of being able to give my reader any particular ſatisfaction concerning ſo intereſting a ſcene. But, by a happy accident, I have very lately had an opportunity of being exactly informed of the whole, by that brave man Mr John Foſter, his faithful ſervant, (and worthy

of the honour of ſerving ſuch a maſter), whom I had ſeen with him at my houſe ſome years before. He attended him in his laſt hours, and gave me the narration at large; which he would be ready, if it were requiſite, to atteſt upon oath. From his mouth I wrote it down with the utmoſt exactneſs, and could eaſily believe, from the genuine and affectionate manner in which he related the particulars, that, according to his own ſtriking expreſſion, "his eye and his heart were always upon his "honoured maſter during the whole time *."

§ 151. On Friday, September 20. (the day before the battle which tranſmitted him to his immortal crown), when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the Colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addreſſing them at once in the moſt reſpectful and animating manner, both as ſoldiers and as Chriſtians, to engage them to exert themſelves courageouſly in the ſervice of their country, and to neglect nothing that

* Juſt as I am putting the laſt hand to theſe memoirs, March 2. 1746-7, I have met with a corporal in Colonel Laſcelles's regiment, who was alſo an eye witneſs to what happened at Preſtonpans on the day of the battle, and the day before: And the account he has given me of ſome memorable particulars is ſo exactly agreeable to that which I received from Mr Foſter, that it would much corroborate his teſtimony, if there were not ſo many other conſiderations to render it convincing.

might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They ſeemed much affected with the addreſs, and expreſſed a very ardent deſire of attacking the enemy immediately: A deſire, in which he and another very gallant officer of diſtinguiſhed rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earneſtly preſſed it on the commanding officer, both as the ſoldiers were then in better ſpirits than it could be ſuppoſed they would be after having paſſed the night under arms; and alſo as the circumſtance of making an attack would be ſome encouragement to them, and probably ſome terror to the enemy, who would have had the diſadvantage of ſtanding on the defence: A diſadvantage with which thoſe wild barbarians (for ſuch moſt of them were) perhaps would have been more ſtruck than better diſciplined troops, eſpecially when they fought againſt the laws of their country too. He alſo apprehended, that by marching to meet them, ſome advantage might have been ſecured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he muſt have been perfectly acquainted, as it lay juſt at his own door, and he had rode over it ſo many hundred times. When I mention theſe things

I do not pretend to be capable of judging how far this advice was on the whole right. A variety of circumſtances, to me unknown, might make it otherwiſe. It is certain, however, that it was brave. But it was over-ruled in this reſpect, as it alſo was in the diſpoſition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our ſmall army, rather than juſt before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehenſive that the horſes, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into ſome diſorder by the diſcharge ſo very near them. He urged this the more, as he thought the attack of the rebels might probably be made on the centre of the foot, where he knew there were ſome brave men, on whoſe ſtanding he thought under God the ſucceſs of the day depended. When he found that he could not carry either of theſe points, nor ſome others, which, out of regard to the common ſafety, he inſiſted upon with ſome unuſual earneſtneſs, he dropped ſome intimations of the conſequences which he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and ſubmitting to Providence, ſpent the remainder of the day in making as good a diſpoſition as circumſtances would allow *.

* Several of theſe circumſtances have ſince been confirmed by the concurrent teſtimony of another very credible

§ 152. He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally ſheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domeſtic ſervants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He diſmiſſed three of them, with a moſt affectionate Chriſtian advice, and ſuch ſolemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their ſouls, as ſeemed plainly to intimate that he apprehended it at leaſt very probable he was taking his laſt farewell of them. There is great reaſon to believe that he ſpent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in thoſe devout exerciſes of ſoul, which had ſo long been habitual to him, and to which ſo many circumſtances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day, by the noiſe of the rebels approach, and

perſon, Mr Robert Douglas (now a ſurgeon in the navy), who was a volunteer at Edinburgh juſt before the rebels entered the place, who ſaw Colonel Gardiner come from Haddington to the field of battle the day before the action, in a chaiſe, being (as from that circumſtance he ſuppoſed) in ſo weak a ſtate that he could not well endure the fatigue of riding on horſeback. He obſerved Colonel Gardiner in diſcourſe with ſeveral officers the evening before the engagement; at which time, it was afterwards reported, he gave his advice to attack the rebels; and when it was over-ruled, he afterwards ſaw the Colonel walk by himelf in a very penſive manner.

the attack was made before ſun-riſe, yet when it was light enough to diſcern what paſſed. As ſoon as the enemy came within gun-ſhot, they made a furious fire; and it is ſaid that the dragoons, which conſtituted the left wing, immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onſet, which in the whole laſted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breaſt, which made him give a ſudden ſpring in his ſaddle; upon which his ſervant, who had led the horſe, would have perſuaded him to retreat; but he ſaid it was only a wound in the fleſh, and fought on, though he preſently after received a ſhot in his right thigh. In the mean time, it was diſcerned that ſome of the enemies fell by him, and particulary one man who had made him a treacherous viſit but a few days before, with great profeſſions of zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment.

§ 153. Events of this kind paſs in leſs time than the deſcription of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments ſupported by his men, and particularly by that worthy perſon Lieutenant Colonel Whitney, who was ſhot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk, and by Lieutenant Weſt, a man of diſtinguiſhed bravery, as alſo

by about fifteen dragoons, who ſtood by him to the laſt. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was ſeized with a pannic; and though their Colonel and ſome other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at laſt took a precipitate flight: And, juſt in the moment when Colonel Gardiner ſeemed to be making a pauſe, to deliberate what duty required him to do in ſuch a circumſtance, an accident happened, which muſt, I think, in the judgment of every worthy and generous man, be allowed a ſufficient apology for expoſing his life to ſo great hazard, when his regiment had left him *. He ſaw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to ſupport, had no officer to head them; upon which he ſaid eagerly, in the hearing of the perſon

* The Colonel, who was well acquainted with military hiſtory, might poſſibly remember, that in the battle at Blenheim, the illuſtrious Prince Eugene, when the horſe of the wing he commanded had run away thrice, charged at the head of the foot, and thereby greatly contributed to the glorious ſucceſs of the day. At leaſt ſuch an example may conduce to vindicate that noble ardour, which, amidſt all the applauſes of his country, ſome have been ſo cool and ſo critical as to blame. For my own part, I thank God, that I am not called to apologize for his following his troops in their flight; which I fear would have been a much harder taſk; and which, dear as he was to me, would have grieved me much more than his death, with theſe heroic circumſtances attending it.

from whom I had this account, "Thoſe brave "fellows would be cut to pieces for want of "a commander;" or words to that effect, which, while he was ſpeaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, "and fear nothing." But juſt as the words were out of his mouth, an Highlander advanced towards him with a ſcythe faſtened to a long pole, with which he gave him ſuch a deep wound on his right arm, that his ſword dropped out of his hand; and at the ſame time ſeveral others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horſe. The moment he fell, another Highlander, who, if the king's evidence at Carliſle may be credited, (as I know not why they ſhould not, though the unhappy creature died denying it), was one M'Naught, who was executed about a year after, gave him a ſtroke, either with a broad ſword or a Lochaber-axe, (for my informant could not exactly diſtinguiſh), on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant ſaw farther at this time was, that as his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a ſignal to him to retreat; and added, what were the laſt words he ever heard him

ſpeak, "Take care of yourſelf:" Upon which the ſervant retired.

§ 153. It was reported at Edinburgh on the day of the battle, by what ſeemed a conſiderable authority, that as the Colonel lay in his wounds, he ſaid to a chief of the oppoſite ſide, "You are fighting for an earthly crown; I am "going to receive an heavenly one;" or ſomething to that purpoſe. When I preached the ſermon, long ſince printed, on occaſion of his death, I had great reaſon to believe this report was true, though, before the publication of it, I began to be in doubt. And, on the whole, after the moſt accurate enquiry I could poſſibly make at this diſtance, I cannot get any convincing evidence of it. Yet I muſt here obſerve, that it does not appear impoſſible that ſomething of this kind might indeed be uttered by him, as his ſervant teſtifies that he ſpoke to him after receiving that fatal blow, which would ſeem moſt likely to have taken away the power of ſpeech, and as it is certain he lived ſeveral hours after he fell. If, therefore, any thing of this kind did happen, it muſt have been juſt about this inſtant. But as to the ſtory of his being taken priſoner and carried to the pretended Prince, (who by the way afterwards rode his horſe, and entered

upon it into Derby), with ſeveral other circumſtances which were grafted upon interview, there is the moſt undoubted evidence of its falſehood: For his attendant mentioned above aſſures me, that he himſelf immediately fled to a mill, at the diſtance of about two miles from the ſpot of ground on which the Colonel fell, where he changed his dreſs, and, diſguiſed like a miller's ſervant, returned with a cart as ſoon as poſſible; which yet was not till near two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much honoured maſter, not only plundered of his watch, and other things of value, but alſo ſtripped of his upper garments and boots, yet ſtill breathing; and adds, that though he were not capable of ſpeech, yet on taking him up, he opened his eyes; which makes it ſomething queſtionable whether he were altogether inſenſible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the miniſter's houſe, and laid in bed, where he continued breathing, and frequently groaning, 'till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and ſorrow, and undoubtedly roſe to thoſe diſtinguiſhed glories which are

reſerved for thoſe who have been ſo eminently and remarkably faithful unto death.

§ 155. From the moment in which he fell it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The Cruelties which the rebels (as it is generally ſaid, under the command of Lord Elcho) inflicted on ſome of the king's troops, after they had aſked quarter, were dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who ſurvived it. They entered Colonel Gardiner's houſe before he was carried off from the field; and, notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders which the unhappy Duke of Perth (whoſe conduct is ſaid to have been very humane in many inſtances) gave to the contrary, every thing of value was plundered, to the very curtains of the beds, and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildeſt diſorder, and his houſe made an hoſpital for the reception of thoſe who were wounded in the action.

§ 156. Such was the cloſe of a life which had been ſo zealouſly devoted to God, and filled up with ſo many honourable ſervices. This was the death of him who had been ſo highly favoured by God, in the method by which he was brought back to him after ſo long and ſo great an eſtrangement, and in the progreſs of ſo many years, during which (in

the expreſſive phraſe of the moſt ancient of writers) he had walked with him;—to fall as God threatened the people of his wrath that they ſhould do, "with tumult, with ſhouting, and with the ſound of the trumpet," Amos ii. 2. Several other very worthy, and ſome of them very eminent perſons, ſhared the ſame fate, either now in the battle of Preſtonpans, or quickly after in that of Falkirk *: Providence, no doubt, permitting it, to eſtabliſh our faith in the rewards of an inviſible world, as well as to teach us, to ceaſe from man, and fix our dependence on an almighty arm.

§ 157. The remains of this Chriſtian hero (as I believe every reader is now convinced he may juſtly be called) were interred the Tueſday following, September 24. at the pariſh church at Tranent; where he had uſually attended divine ſervice with great ſolemnity.

* Of theſe none were more memorable than thoſe illuſtrious brothers, Sir Robert Munro and Dr Munro, whoſe tragical, but glorious fate, was alſo ſhared quickly after by a third hero of the family, Captain Munro of Culcairn, brother to Sir Robert and the Doctor. I thought of adding ſome account of theſe martyrs in the cauſe of liberty and religion in this place; but having had the pleaſure of receiving from ſome very credible and worthy perſons, to whom they were well known, a larger account of them and their family, than can conveniently be comprehended in a note, I chooſe to make it a diſtinct article in the Appendix, No. III. by which I queſtion not but I ſhall oblige every intelligent and generous reader; and I think myſelf very happy to have it in my power to do it.

His obſequies were honoured with the preſence of ſome perſons of diſtinction, who were not afraid of paying that laſt piece of reſpect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was ſo well known, that even they themſelves ſpoke honourably of him, and ſeemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of ſo brave and ſo worthy a man.

§ 158. The remoteſt poſterity will remember for whom the honour of ſubduing this unnatural and pernicious rebellion was reſerved; and it will endear the perſon of the illuſtrious Duke of Cumberland, to all but the open or ſecret abettors of it in the preſent age, and conſecrate his name to immortal honours among all the friends of religion and liberty who ſhall ariſe after us. And, I dare ſay, it will not be imagined that I at all derogate from his glory, in ſuggeſting, That the memory of that valiant and excellent perſon whoſe memoirs I am now concluding may in ſome meaſure have contributed to that ſignal and complete victory with which God was pleaſed to crown the arms of his Royal Highneſs: For the force of ſuch an example is very animating; and a painful conſciouſneſs of having deſerted ſuch a commander in ſuch extremity,

muſt at leaſt awaken, where there was any ſpark of generoſity, an earneſt deſire to avenge his death on thoſe who had ſacrificed his blood, and that of ſo many other excellent perſons, to the views of their ambition, rapine, or bigotry.

§ 159. The reflections I have made in my funeral ſermon on my honoured friend, and in the dedication of it to his worthy and moſt afflicted Lady, ſuperſede many things which might otherwiſe have properly been added here. I conclude, therefore, with humbly acknowledging the wiſdom and goodneſs of that awful providence, which drew ſo thick a gloom around him in the laſt hours of his life, that the luſtre of his virtues might dart through it with a more vivid and obſervable ray. It is abundant matter of thankfulneſs, that ſo ſignal a monument of grace, and ornament of the Chriſtian profeſſion, was raiſed in our age and country, and ſpared for ſo many honourable and uſeful years. Nor can all the tenderneſs of the moſt affectionate friendſhip, while its ſorrows bleed afreſh in the view of ſo tragical a ſcene, prevent my adoring the gracious appointment of the great Lord of all events, that when the day in which he muſt have expired without an enemy appeared ſo very near, the laſt ebb of his generous blood

ſhould be poured out, as a kind of ſacred libation, to the liberties of his country, and the honour of his God! that all the other virtues of his character, embalmed as it were by that precious ſtream, might diffuſe around a more extenſive fragrancy, and be tranſmitted to the moſt remote poſterity, with that peculiar charm, which they cannot but derive from their connection with ſo gallant a fall: An event (as that bleſſed apoſtle, of whoſe ſpirit he ſo deeply drank, has expreſſed it), "according to his earneſt expectation and his hope, that in him Chriſt might be glorified in all things, whether by his life or by his death."

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

No. I.

RELATING TO THE COLONEL's PERSON.

In the midſt of ſo many more important articles, I had really forgot to ſay any thing of the perſon of Colonel Gardiner, of which nevertheleſs it may be proper here to add a word or two. It was, as I am informed, in younger life, remarkably graceful and amiable; and I can eaſily believe it, from what I knew him to be when our acquaintance began, though he was then turned of fifty, and had gone through ſo many fatigues as well as dangers, which could not but leave ſome traces on his countenance. He was tall, (I ſuppoſe ſomething more than ſix feet), well proportioned, and ſtrongly built; his eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his noſe of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well ſuited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent; his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining (when I knew him) to be

peaked. He had a ſtrong voice and lively accent, with an air very intrepid, yet attempered with much gentleneſs: And there was ſomething in his manner of addreſs more perfectly eaſy and obliging, which was in a great meaſure the reſult of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accuſtomed from his early youth to the company of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and polite behaviour.

The picture of him, which is given at the beginning of theſe memoirs, was taken from an original done by Van Deeſt, (a Dutchman brought into Scotland by General Wade), in the year 1727, which was the 40th of his age, and is ſaid to have been very like him then, though far from being an exact reſemblance of what he was when I had the happineſs of being acquainted with him. Perhaps he would have appeared to the greateſt advantage of all, could he have been exactly drawn on horſeback; as many very good judges, and among the reſt the celebrated Monſ. Faubert himſelf, have ſpoken of him as one of the completeſt horſemen that has ever

been known: And there was indeed ſomething ſo ſingularly graceful in his apppearance in that attitude, that it was ſufficient (as what is very eminent in its kind generally is) to ſtrike an eye not formed on any critical rules.

No. II.

POETICAL PIECES ON THE DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.

So animating a ſubject as the death of ſuch a man, in ſuch circumſtances, has occaſioned a great deal of poetry. Some of this has already been publiſhed; eſpecially one large compoſition, ſaid to be done by a worthy clergyman in Lincolnſhire, in which there are many excellent lines and noble ſentiments: But I rather chooſe to refer to the piece itſelf, than to inſert any extracts from it here. It may be more expedient to oblige my reader with the following copy of verſes, and an elegiac poem, compoſed by two of my valuable friends, whoſe names are annexed. I could not preſume to attempt any thing of this kind myſelf; becauſe I knew that nothing I was capable of writing could properly expreſs my

ſenſe of his worth, or deſcribe the tenderneſs of my friendſhip; the ſentiments of which will (as I aſſuredly believe) mingle themſelves with the laſt ideas which paſs through my mind in this world, and perhaps with ſome of the firſt which may open upon it in that which is to come.

VERSES ON THE DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.

BY THE REV. MR BENJAMIN SOWDEN.

Quis Deſiderio ſit Pudor, aut Modus,
Tam chari Capitis? HOR.

COULD piety perpetuate human breath,
Or ſhield one mortal from the ſhafts of death,
Thou ne'er, illuſtrious man! thou ne'er hadſt been
A palid corpſe on Preſton's fatal plain.
Or could her hand, though impotent to ſave
Conſummate worth, redeem it from the grave,
Soon would thy urn reſign its ſacred truſt,
And recent life re-animate thy duſt.

But vain the wiſh.—The ſavage hand of war—
Oh how ſhall words the mournful tale declare!
Too ſoon the news afflicted friendſhip hears,
Too ſoon, alas! confirm'd her boding fears.

Struck with the ſound unconſcious of redreſs,
She felt thy wounds, and wept ſevere diſtreſs.
A while diſſolv'd in truceleſs grief ſhe lay,
Which left thee to relentleſs rage a prey.

At length kind Fame ſuſpends our heaving ſighs,
And wipes the ſorrows from our flowing eyes;
Give us to know, thine exit well ſupply'd
Thoſe blooming laurels victory deny'd,
When thy great ſoul ſuppreſs'd each timid moan,
And ſoar'd triumphant in a dying groan,
Thy fall, which rais'd, now calms each wild complaint,
Thy fall, which joined the hero to the ſaint.

As o'er th' expiring lamp the quivering flame
Collects its luſtre in a brighter gleam,
Thy virtues, glimm'ring on the verge of night,
Through the dim ſhade diffus'd celeſtial light:
A radiance death or time can ne'er deſtroy,
Th' auſpicious omen of eternal joy.

Hence every unavailing grief! No more
As hapleſs thy removal we deplore.
Thy guſhing veins, in every drop they bleed,
Of patriot warriors ſhed the fruitleſs ſeed.
Soon ſhall the ripen'd harveſt riſe in arms
To cruſh rebellion's inſolent alarms.

While proſp'rous moments ſooth'd through life his way,
Conceal'd from public view the hero lay:
But when affliction clouded his decline,
It not eclips'd, but made his honours ſhine;
Gave them to beam conſpicuous from the gloom,
And plant unfading trophies round his tomb.

So ſtars are loſt amidſt the blaze of day;
But when the ſun withdraws his golden ray,
Refulgent thro' th' etherial arch they roll,
And gild the wide expanſe from pole to pole.

An ELEGY on the Death of the truly pious, and brove Colonel JAMES GARDINER, who was ſlain by the Rebel-Forces, September 21, 1745, in the fatal action at Preſtonpans,

BY THE REV. MR. THOMAS GIBSONS.

Nam, dum duelli lætior, hoſtica
Opprobriorum murmura vindice
Excuſat enſe, barbararum
Immortuus aggeribus cohortum;
Præſecta tandem colla volubili
Lapſu reclinat. Sed famula prope
Decuſque, præſigniſque virtus,
Semianimem ſubiere dextra:
Mox, expeditis corpore manibus,
Depræliatrix gloria ſiderum
Occurrit, et fulvo reclinem
Ire jubet ſuper aſtra curru. CASIMIR.

COME, Melancholy, from the ſtormy cave
The ſcoop of time for thee has made,
Under the broad cliff's ſhade,
Upon the naked ſhore,
Where warring tempeſts roar
In concert with the hoarſe reſounding wave:
Come, but with ſolemn gait,
With trickling eyes,
And heavy ſighs,
And all the the 'ſcutcheon'd pomp of fate;
And bring with thee the cypreſs, and the yew,
All bath'd and drooping with the mortal dew,
To this ſequeſter'd bow'r:
And let the midnight hour
Be hung in deeper glooms by thee,
And bid each gay idea flee:
While all the baleful images of woe,
That haunt the marble buſt,
Or hover round ſepulcher'd duſt,
With conſcious horrors all my ſoul o'erflow.
For 'tis no vulgar death
Urania means to mourn;
But in a doleful ſtrain
She bids the harp complain,
And hangs the fun'ral wreath
On Gard'ner's awful urn.

Gard'ner, what various fame
For ever crowns thy name?

Nor is it poſſible to ſay,
Or if the ſaint's, or hero's ray
Shone brighteſt in that blended blaze,
That form'd thine ample ronnd of praiſe.
Like Moſes on the ſacred hill,
How haſt thou ſtood with pleading eyes,
Outſtretching hands, and fervent cries,
Unwearied wreſtler with the ſkies!
Till heav'n, reſponſive to thy will,
Would all thy largeſt wiſhes fill;
Till the high-brandiſh'd bolt aſide was thrown,
And the full bleſſing ſtream'd in ſilver murmurs down.
Nor leſs a Joſhua, than a Moſes, thou;
For oft in Liberty's high ſtrife
Haſt thou expos'd thy gen'rous life,
And with impatient ardors on thy brow,
Ruſh'd foremoſt in the horrid van of fight,
Driving the troops of tyranny to flight,
Unſhaken in the noble cauſe,
To pluck her bloody fangs, and break her iron jaws.

When Anna ſent her choſen chief,
Victorious Marlborough,
To Europe's groans to give relief
In Bourbon's overthrow;
Renown'd Ramilia's tented field,
Where Gallia dropt her idle ſhield,

And to the Britiſh ſtandard kneel'd,
Beheld young Gard'ner there.
Young Gard'ner, where the combat mow'd
The falling ranks, and widely ſtrow'd
Deſtruction and deſpair,
Wielded ſerene his youthful arms,

And, kindling at the dire alarms,
Enjoy'd the raging war:
But here, (for ſteel and flying ſhot
Fall chiefly to the hero's lot),
Swift thro' his lips the glancing bullet rung,
His lips, on which the unfiniſh'd oath was hung;
Nor ſtopt its wing'd impetuous force,
Till through the neck it plough'd its angry courſe.
Amazing thought! that they who life expoſe,
Where all the thunder of the battle glows,
Who ſee pale Death triumphant ride
Upon the crimſon's ſurging tide,
In blaſphemy and proud contempt ſhould riſe
And hurl their mad defiance to the ſkies;
Whither a moment may convey
Their ſouls, diſlodging from their quiv'ring clay,
To take their laſt inexorable doom,
Big with immortal wrath, and dire deſpair to come.

Such Gard'ner was in early youth;
And while the warrior's ray

Beam,d round his head, celeſtial Truth
He ſpurn'd, and ſcorn'd her ways:
And, though th' Almighty arm was near,
Made his endangar'd life its care,
And heal'd the burning ſcores;
Yet Vice, collecting with his ſtrength,
Soon, ſoon burſts out in wilder length,
And like a torrent roars.
Now in the wide enchanting bowl
The hero melts his manly ſoul:
And now he blots the ſhades of night
With blacker ſcenes of lewd delight:
Anon in ſport he lifts his brow to heav'n,
And ſwears by the Eternal name;
Aſks that the bolt may on his head be driv'n,
And courts the lagging flame.
So Pharaoh, when the fev'riſh blains
No more emboſs'd his fleſh,
Nor ſhot infection through his veins,
Aſſum'd his rage a-freſh;
And hard, grew harder ſtill,
And propp'd on his wild will,
Set up the ſtandard of his pride,
Curſ'd Iſr'els God and King, and all his plagues defy'd.

But Muſe, in ſofter notes relate,
For ſofter notes upon thee wait,
How Gard'ner, when his youth had rang'd

These guilty scenes, to heav'n enstrang'd,
Paus'd in his mid career, and was divinely chang'd.
That God, whose piercing radiance darts,
O'er all our ways, and all our hearts,
The bold transgressor from his throne survey'd,
And thus in accents breathing mildness said:
"Go Mercy, charg'd with my supreme com-
"mand,
"Thou, fairest daughter, thron'd at my right
"hand,
"Go, wing thy downward race,
"And stop that rebel in his furious way;
"His heart shall thy victorous call obey,
"And take the willing stamp of grace:
"For never shall thy call successless prove,
"And thou lament thy baffled aim,
"If thou but dart thy chosen flame,
"Arm'd with the Saviour's energy of love."
He spoke; and gave the Almighty nod,
The sanction of th' eternal God:
At once the joyful news is propagated round,
Loud anthems from the golden roofs rebound,
And Heavn's high chrystal domes re-murmur
with the sound.

Mercy obeys; and from the empyrial height
Precipitates her glitt'ring flight;
A starry circle sparkl'd round her head,
And a wide rainbow o'er her progress spread.
Muse, sing the wondrous plan,

And ſing the wond'rous hour,
In which the Sov'reign pow'r
Th' Almighty work began,
And ſignalized her arm, and triumph'd o'er the man.
Bent on adult'rous ſhame
The ſinner ſhe beheld;
His boſom burnt with guilty flame,
And at the future joy in ſecret raptures ſwell'd.
Enrag'd, he curs'd the lazy moon
In her nocturnal tour,
That thought his bliſs would come too ſoon,
And clogg'd the midnight hour.
'Twas then, when luſt's malignant ſway
Had ſtifl'd conſcienc' pang, and ſmother'd reaſon's ray,
That mercy ſtept between
Th' adult'rer and his ſinful ſcene;
And painted on his mental ſight,
Dreſs'd round in beams divinely bright,
The Saviour ſtretch'd upon the tree,
In purple ſweets, and dying agony:
(Such was the viſion and the blaze the ſame,
That Saul, intent on murders, ſaw,
When Jeſus, ſpeaking from the radiant flame,
O'erwhelm'd his conſcious ſoul with awe).
Then thus a voice arreſts his ear:
"See, Gard'ner, ſee thy Saviour here!
"And was this wood
"Ting'd in my blood,

" And did I languiſh in theſe woes for thee,
" And canſt thou plunge theſe recent wounds
" in me!"
O'erpow'r'd with vaſt ſurpriſe,
A priſoner of the ſkies
The ſwooning champion falls,
And fear, that never yet his ſoul had ſhook,
Bedews his limbs, glares wild upon his look,
And all his ſoul appalls:
But half the agony was unfulfill'd,
Till mercy from her chryſtal urn inſtill'd
Fierce on his heart three burning drops,
Drops that from Sinai came,
From Sinai, where th' Almighty thunderer forms
His ſhafted lightnings, and his bolted ſtorms,
And from whoſe boiling tops
The wild ſulphureous furge lies down in liquid flame;
Stung with th' unſufferable ſmart,
That feſt'red at his heart,
Gard'ner awakes, and round he throws
His ghaſtly eyes, and ſcarce he knows
Or if he lives in nature's midnight gloom,
Or, clos'd in hell's unfathomable womb,
Black o'er his head eternal horrors roll,
And the keen gnawing worm devours his inmoſt ſoul.

But when his wand'ring thought had found
Himſelf a tenant of the ground,

Still, ſtill his conſcience felt the flaming wound.
Sudden before his proſpect glows
The everlaſting gulph of woes;
From the o'er-hanging brink he ſeems to bend,
(The brink that crumbled as he ſtood,
And nodded o'er the dreadful flood),
And down in headlong ruin to deſcend
To the broad burning waves, and pains that never end*.
He turns: but ah! no friendly hand,
Nor ſpark of glimm'ring hope, appears,
Amidſt the raging torment of his fears;
But outlaw'd from th' realms of ſhining bliſs,
He thinks he feels the unextinguiſh'd fires,
A waving waſte of blue aſcending ſpires,
And plunges in the bottomleſs abyſs:
For, oh! his ſins in crowding numbers ſtand,
And each tempts vengeance from th' Almighty hand;
But fiercer o'er the reſt ingratitude appears,
That ſcorn'd the Saviour's love, and flaming horror wears.
But while in ſad confuſion toſs'd,
And tortur'd with deſpair,
He doom'd his ſoul for ever loſt,
The bright etherial fair,
(For 'twas her kind deſign
Not to deſtroy, but to refine),

* See Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, b. xi. l. 416.

Amidſt the darkneſs and the ſtorms
Her ſacred embaſſy performs;
For guilt diſplay'd in all its frightful dyes,
And crimſon'd over with redeeming blood,
Draws out the rolling anguiſh from his eyes,
And all his ſtubborn ſoul with low ſubmiſſion bow'd.
'Tis done: O miracle of love!
Not minds below, nor minds above,
Great God! can trace thy myſtic ways,
And pay the equal note of praiſe.
'Tis done. And now with ouſtretch'd wings
Back to the ſkies the radiant Pow'r withdrew,
And, as her mounting path ſhe ſprings,
The ſilver trump' of victory ſhe blows,
In ſtronger dyes her arch refulgent glows,
And a far-ſtreaming glory tracks th' ethereal blue.

At once abjuring all his ſins,
Gard'ner the heav'nly life begins,
And pleads the honours of his God
With irreſiſtible defence
Againſt the colour'd arts of eloquence,
Tho' clouded with his Maker's frown, and Cruſh'd beneath his rod.
But quickly a celeſtial ray
Shot o'er his ſoul unclouded day,
And balmy dews, and blooming life were giv'n,
The early antepaſt of heav'n.

And now what equal words ſhall paint
How Gard'ner, freed from tyrant luſts,
Nor longer toſs'd in paſſion's guſts,
Felt, ſpoke, and acted all the ſaint!
That holy name, which he prophan'd before,
Behold him now with ſuppliant knee adore;
At morn and ev'n his warm devotions riſe,
Like clouds of incenſe, fragrant to the ſkies:
No more the grape's nectareous juice
Could tempt beyond a prudent uſe;
No wanton ſpeech defil'd his tongue;
No deed deſign's his neighbour wrong:
But the fair ſtreams of innocence,
And unconfin'd benevolence,
O'er all his life uninterrupted ran,
And thro' their chryſtal mirrors ſhew'd the man.
The num'rous characters he bore,
With a diſtinguiſh'd praiſe he wore,
And ſubject, ſoldier, huſband, parent, friend,
He blended, and ennobled to the end.
Now with ſeraphic tranſports fix'd,
The pinions of his zeal aſpir'd,
Scarce patient till he broke the mortal ſhell,
And bid this empty ſcene, and duſky globe, farewell.
Heav'n was his home, and to his home he bent,
And e'er the rounds of fatal life were ſpent,
Thither his paſſions would divinely roll,
The ſwift-wing'd heralds of his coming ſoul.

Peace at his tent would often light, and ſing,
And ſhed the dewy bleſſings from her wing;
And rills, devolving from the front above,
Pour o'er his heart extatic life and love.

Thus Gard'ner liv'd; till from the gloomy North
Rebellion, graſping targe and ſteely arms,
Ruſh'd, like a mountain-boar, impetuous forth,
And ſhook our realms with horrible alarms;
Rebellion, aiming at one waſteful ſway,
To ſtrike the diadem from Brunſwick's head,
Tear Liberty, and all her mounds away,
And Popery's o'erwhelming horrors ſpread.
The news to Gard'ner came,
And fann'd the noble flame,
Which pure religion, heav'n-born liberty,
And dauntleſs fortitude had rais'd;
And as the gath'ring terrors thunder'd nigh,
With a redoubled ſtrength the mounting fervors blaz'd.
What tho' diſtemper had ſubdu'd his limbs,
And age defrauded half the purple ſtreams,
That bloom'd his features o'er,
When in rebellion's ſtorm before,
He, riſing in the glorious cauſe
Of George's rights, and Britain's laws,
Swept down the trait'rous files, and Preſton ſwam with gore;
Yet his unbroken ſoul diſdains
Age's dull load of cramps and pains;

His youthful rage returns,
And for the battle burns:
Then, ſpringing from Franciſſa's tender arms,
Diſſolv'd in flowing tears,
O'erwhelm'd with boding fears,
And only ſolac'd with the view
That heav'n their friendſhip would renew;
He, in th' unſhaken confidence of pray'r,
Sways the keen flame of his revenging ſword
For his eternal, and his earthly lord,
Serenely meets the danger's wild alarms,
Plants his embattl'd force, and waits the ruſhing war.
So Michael *, bent on glorious fight,
Againſt Satanic rage and might,
Came tow'ring to the field;
Unconſcious of a quiv'ring fear,
He ſaw the foe his duſky horrors rear,
Wave his broad flaming ſword, and heave his moony ſhield.
Not far from where Edina lifts
Her tow'rs into the ſkies,
Or where the ocean-bounding clifts
In clouded ſummits riſe,
Preſton extends her humble cots,
Long, long unknown to Fame:
But flying routs, and purple ſpots
Have ſtamp'd th' eternal ſhame.

* Miltons Paradiſe Loſt, b. vi. l. 255.

Here, here, (oh could Time's brazen pen
Daſh the reproach away,
Or, as the day returns again,
Might midnight choak its ray!)
Britannia's troops in vain
Oppos'd the rebel-hoſt,
And fled inglorious o'er the plain,
Their courage wither'd, and their ſtandards loſt.
Muſe, paint the doleful ſcene
With ſighs and tears between;
For ſighs and tears ſhould riſe
From ev'ry Britiſh heart, and guſh from all our eyes.
Swift on the loyal van
The yellow furies ran,
Like the wild ocean that has rent
Its ſhores, and roars along the Continent;
Or in the wing'd light'ning's livid glare,
Darting along th' immeaſur'd fields of air.
Confounded at the ſhock,
The yielding ſquadron's broke:
And now, (for hell inſpir'd the throng),
The gloomy murd'rers ruſh'd along;
And fierce the ſteelly blade
Its horrid circles play'd,
Till hideous cries,
Quiv'ring ſighs,
Hopeleſs ſcreams,
Batter'd limbs,
Bloody ſtreams,

And univerſal rout deform'd the ground,
Laid waſte the Britiſh ſtrength, and the wide
champaign drown'd.
" Come on, come on!" mad Elcho cries,
And for his murders thanks the ſkies,
(While the Italian from afar,
Too ſoft a ſoul to mix in war,
Enjoying all the guilt, beheld
His bloody harpies tear the field).
" Ply, ply the thirſty ſteel,
" Round the full vengeance wheel;
" Each heretic muſt yield his breath
" That for the Hanoverian brood
" Or lifts a ſword,
" Or ſpeaks a word,
" Come, gorge your ſouls with death,
" And drown your ſteps in blood:
" Think, think, what bliſsful periods roll be-
" hind,
" Let London's mighty plunder fill your
" mind,
" When boundleſs wealth ſhall be with bound-
" leſs empire join'd."

Gard'ner, with mind elate
Above the rage of fate,
His country's bulwark ſtood
Midſt broken lines of death, and riſing waves of
blood.
His ſoul diſdains retreat,
Though urg'd by ſoul defeat.

Now to his ſcatt'ring friends he calls,
To wheel again and charge the foe;
Now hurls the wide-deſtroying balls,
Now deal's the ,vengeful blow.
Forſaken and alone,
And torn with gaſhing wounds,
He hears the treas'nous ſhout, he hears the loyal groan:
But nought the purpoſe of his ſoul confounds;
And ſtill with new delight
He tempts the midmoſt fight,
Propp'd on his ſacred cauſe and courage of his own,
Th' embattled ranks of foot he ſpies
Without a leading chief,
And like a ſhooting ray, he flies
To lend his brave relief.

Here the broad weapon's forceful ſway,
Swung with tempeſtuous hand,
Plough'd through his fleſh its furious way,
And ſtretch'd him on the ſtrand.
Welt'ring in gore, with fiery fiends beſet,
The dying Gard'ner lies;
No gentle hand to wipe the mortal ſweat,
And cloſe his ſwimming eyes.

The unrelenting crew
The hero diſarray'd;
But ſtruck at his majeſtic view,
Their ſouls were half diſmay'd:

And, had not hell inſtamp'd its hate,
Their ſtony eye-balls o'er his fate
Had ſtream'd with human woe; for, heavenly mild,
He o'er their gloomy forms the Chriſtian pardon ſmil'd.
But not a tear muſt bathe, or garment ſhield
His mangled limbs from ſight,
Down-trodden in the fight:
While his fair manſion, that o'er-tops the field,
The naked murther ſees, and trembles from its height.
Still the departing flame of life
Wav'd languiſhing in doubtful ſtriſe;
Till ſuch his ſervant's faithful care,
(May heav'n's diſtinguiſh'd goodneſs crown
The goodneſs to his maſter ſhewn!)
The wheels ſlow-moving, from the ſcenes of war,
To Tranent bore th' expiring chief,
In ſullen ſounds remurm'ring to his grief.
Urania, mark the melancholy road,
And with thy tears efface the ſcatt'ring blood;
Nor ſtopt, till on the late repoſing bed
(Oh! rather 'tis the fun'ral bier!)
You ſee the hero's pallid body ſpread,
And his laſt anguiſh hear.
Half choak'd with clotted gore,
He draws the hollow moan;
Flitting his pulſe; and fix'd his eyes,
All pale and motionleſs he lies,

And ſeems to breathe no more.——
Oh! that's the life-diſſolving groan:—
Farewell, dear man! for in that pang thy mind
Soars to its God, and leaves the clog behind.

Gard'ner is dead!—The bloody trump of Fame
Proclaim'd the mighty death;
In ev'ry look the poſting rumour came,
And flew on ev'ry breath.
The widow'd partner of his life
The doleful tidings hears,
And, ſilent in ſtupendous grief,
Her eyes refuſe their tears:
Oppreſs'd beneath th' immeaſurable weight,
Her ſpirit faints away,
As ſympathetic with the hero's fate,
It meant to quit its clay.
The pledges of his love
Their filial duty prove,
And each with tender hands uprears,
With hands all cover'd o'er in tears,
Their mother's ſinking head;
And groan reſounds to groan;
For, oh! the beſt of huſbands gone,
The beſt of fathers dead!
But Gard'ner's death is more than private woe;
Wide and more wide th' increaſing ſorrows run;
O'er Britiſh lands unlimited they go,
And fly acroſs the ſeas, and travel with the ſun.
Religion, that from heav'n had bow'd,
To watch the ſcale of fight,

When holy Gard'ner fell,
Who lov'd, and who adorn'd her cauſe ſo well,
Retir'd behind a crimſon cloud,
Nor could ſuſtain the ſight,
Britannia, where ſhe ſat
Upon the ſea-beat ſhore,
To eye the battle's fate,
Her ſilver mantle tore:
Then thus, her bluſhing honours wann'd,
Her ſceptre quiv'ring in her hand,
Her laurels wither'd, and her head declin'd,
Ten thouſand terrors boding in her mind,
She to the deep in bitter wailings griev'd,
While her fall'n helm the trickling drops received:
"What havock of my martial force
"Has this ſad morn beheld,
"Torn, gaſh'd, and heap'd without remorſe
"Upon the naked field!
"But Gard'ner's death afflicts me moſt,
"Than whom a chief I could not boaſt
"More faithful, vigilant, and brave;
"And ſhould acroſs his grave
"An hecatomb of Highland brutes be ſlain,
"They could not recompenſe his injur'd ghoſt,
"Nor fully quench my rage, and wipe away my
"ſtain."

But ſee, in ſplendid ſtate
Cherubic convoys come,

And waft the hero from his fate
To his celeſtial home.
Now, now he ſails along
Encircl'd with their throng,
(The throng, that clap their mantling wings,
And to loud triumphs ſtrike their ſtrings),
Through liquid ſeas of day
Ploughing the azure way,
Till to the ſtarry tow'rs the ſquadrons riſe.
The ſtarry tow'rs, thick ſown with pearl and gold,
Their adamantine leaves unfold,
And ſhew the entrance to th' empyreal ſkies:
Through them our hero mark'd his road,
And through the wheeling ranks of heav'n
An unobſtructed path was giv'n,
Till he attain'd th' eternal throne of God;
A throne that blaz'd in uncreating beams,
And from its footſtool guſh'd innumber'd ſtreams,
Streams, that in everlaſting currents roll,
And pour the boundleſs joy o'er all th' expanded ſoul.
Well haſt thou done, th' Almighty Father ſpoke;
Well haſt thou done, th' exalted Jeſus cry'd;
Well haſt thou done, (all heav'n the Euge took),
The ſaints and angels in their ſong's reply'd.
And now a robe of ſpotleſs white,
But where the Saviour's flowing vein
Had bluſh'd it with a ſanguine ſtain,
Inveſts him round: In various light
(For ſuch was the divine command.)

Refulgent on his brows a crown was plac'd;
And a triumphal palm his better hand
With golden bloſſoms grac'd.
Nigh to the ſeat of bliſs
His manſion was aſſign'd;
Sorrow and ſin forſook his breaſt,
His weary ſoul was now at reſt,
And life, and love, and ecſtacies
Unbound his ſecret pow'rs, and overflow'd his mind.

Nor has thy life, heroic man, been ſpilt
Without a wrath proportion'd to thy guilt:
Enkind'led by the cries that roſe
From thy dear ſacred blood, with thoſe
That ſhriek'd for vengeance from the brave Munroes,
Who fell a martyr'd ſacrifice
To cool remorſeleſs butcheries,
Heav'n ſends its angel righteouſly ſevere,
And from the foe exacts the laſt arrear.
For when the barb'rous bands,
Thick as the ſwarms that blacken'd Egypt's ſtrands,
And furious as the winter's ruſhing rains
Impell'd by whirlwinds through the plains,
Had o'er our country roll'd,
Young William roſe, (auſpicious name,
Sacred to Liberty and Fame!)
And their mad rage controll'd.

Back to their hills and bogs they fled,
(For terror wing'd their nimble ſpeed),
And howl'd for help in vain:
William purſu'd, and launch'd his vengeful ire,
(As o'er the ſtubble runs the crackling fire)
Upon the grov'ling train:
Shudd'ring with horror and deſpair,
With bell'wing pain they rend the air,
Till Culloden's illuſtrious moor
Groan'd with the heaps of ſlain, and ſmoak'd with rebel-gore.
Then, Muſe, ſuppreſs thy riſing ſighs,
And wipe the anguiſh from thine eyes;
Sing, how Rebellion has receiv'd its doom,
How Gard'ner dwells in his eternal home,
And in each Britiſh heart has rais'd a laſting tomb.

No. III.

An Account of ſome Remarkable Particulars concerning the Ancient Family of the Munroes of Fowlis.

WHILE I was endeavouring to do juſtice to the memory of that excellent man, and moſt beloved friend, whoſe memoirs I have now

concluded, and was mentioning, in the courſe of my narration, the tragical conſequences which the unnatural rebellion, by which he fell, had drawn along with it, and the many other valuable perſons of which it had alſo deprived us, I could not but particularly reflect on the awful cataſtrophe of Sir Robert Munro, and his two brothers, the Captain and the Doctor, who all, within the compaſs of eight months, and in leſs than twelve after the death of Colonel Gardiner, (with whom they were well acquainted, and to whom they were allied in the bonds of a virtuous and honourable friendſhip), fell a ſacrifice to the rage and cruelty of the ſame ſavage deſtroyers. I was deſirous of interweaving ſo remarkable a piece of hiſtory, with a ſubject, to which it was, alas! ſo nearly connected: And therefore I applied myſelf to a perſon of high rank moſt nearly related to them, on whoſe information I was ſure I might entirely depend, intreating the favour of ſuch an account of theſe three excellent brothers, and of the circumſtances of their death, as I might ſafely and properly offer to the view of the public.

This honourable perſon referred me to a gentleman well acquainted with the hiſtory of the family of the Munroes of Fowlis, and poſ-

feſſed of a diſtinct hiſtorical account of it, taken from the annals which have been kept of that family for many ages paſt, and from the old writs, charters, and other authentic deeds belonging to it, which are the vouchers of theſe annals.

This gentleman was pleaſed to favour me with a pretty large hiſtorical account of this family, beginning it much higher, and carrying it through a much wider extent than I could have expected from the particular view with which I firſt requeſted information —— I next obtained inſtructions on the ſame ſubject from a gentleman at London. I was then furniſhed with a particular relation from another gentleman, a pious miniſter of the Church of Scotland, with whom I have the happineſs of being well acquainted. And as all theſe are perſons of ſuch a character, that none who know them can queſtion the veracity and teſtimony of each, ſo they were each of them happy in a moſt intimate acquaintance with all the three deceaſed brothers, after whom I inquired. And laſt of all, I received from a fourth gentleman an hiſtorical account of this family from the moſt early times; which, by the date it bears, was compiled a great many years ago, and which, it ſeems, was intended to have been publiſhed in an hiſtorical

account of ſome of the ancient families of Scotland; which work became abortive through the death of the author.

When I compared theſe ſeveral accounts, as I received them from time to time, it gave me great ſatisfaction to find them all agree, and tally ſo exactly, in their accounts of this family, and of the three excellent brothers laſt deceaſed. On an attentive peruſal of theſe informations, I found they contained what was too curious and important to be loſt, and yet too long to be inſerted in the memoirs of Colonel Gardiner, without breaking the unity of deſign in a manner that would have proved inconvenient. I concluded, therefore, that (eſpecially as thoſe memoirs were finiſhed before ſome of theſe papers came to my hands), it would be beſt to preſent it to the world in a diſtinct piece, connected by way of Appendix to the former. And I feel a moſt ſenſible pleaſure in the addition I am hereby making to the work, as it is paying ſome little debt of gratitude to the illuſtrious dead; and at the ſame time doing a juſt honour to the ſurviving branches of a family from whence ſo many heroes have ſprung, and of which there are ſtill, (though after much ſad deſolation made in it), moſt worthy remains.

And I hope, that it may not only entertain my readers with ſome remarkable facts worthy of commemoration, but excite in their breaſts ſomething of the ſame generous ſpirit, to which nothing can more powerfully inſtigate the mind than the view of ſuch glorious examples.

The family of the Munroes of Fowlis is among the moſt ancient and honourable families in the north of Scotland, and has generally been remarkable for a brave, martial, and heroic ſpirit. It is mentioned by Buchanan with a memorable teſtimony *, when, after ſpeaking of the difficulties in which Mary Queen of Scots was involved at Inverneſs, he adds, "That as ſoon as they heard of their "Sovereign's danger, a great number of the "ancient Scots poured in around her, eſpeci-"ally the Fraſers and Munroes, which, (ſays "he), were eſteemed among the moſt valiant "of the clans inhabiting thoſe countries." And how well the latter have ever ſince continued to deſerve that character, the following memoirs, brief as they are, may in ſome degree ſhew.

* Audito principis periculo, magna priſcorum Scotorum multitudo affuit, imprimis Fraſerii et Munroii, hominum fortiſſimorum in illis gentibus familiciæ. Buchan. Hiſt. Lib. xvii. page 618.

The Munroes of Fowlis have, in every one of their generations, been intermarried with many of the beſt families of nobility and gentry in the north of Scotland. And it is yet more for their honour, that they were among the firſt in thoſe parts that embrac'd the Reformation, and have ever ſince been zealous aſſertors of it. And many of them have not only given great countenance and encouragement to the miniſters of the goſpel in the pariſhes under their influence, in conſequence of which a great harveſt of moſt eminent Chriſtians hath been produced there; but alſo have themſelves been ſignal examples of true piety, and a behaviour in all its branches moſt ornamental to a Chriſtian profeſſion.—I fear there have been few families to which ſuch a character can be univerſally applied: But it is certain, that ſo far as it is the caſe, it is the moſt illuſtrious of all hereditary honours, and therefore ſeems to have been mentioned with the utmoſt propriety by my ſeveral correſpondents in this connexion.

According to Buchanan, it was in the beginning of the eleventh century, and about the time of the conqueſt in England, when Malcolm, the ſecond of that name, King of Scots, firſt diſtributed, or, as it is expreſſed, feued out or feed the lands of Scotland to the great

families thereof, on account of their eminent ſervices in his many battles with the Danes, until he forced them quite out of his kingdom. And according to tradition, it was on that occaſion that the country betwixt the borough of Dingwell and the water of Alneſs, in the ſhire of Roſs, was given to Donald Munro; and which is therefore to this day called Ferrindonald, that is, Donald's Land. And part of theſe lands were afterwards by the king erected into a barony, called the barony of Fowlis.

I ſhall not follow the annals of this family ſo far, as to entertain the public with a detail of the barons of Fowlis in their ſeveral generations through theſe early ages, but ſhall begin my particular narration of them only from the time they became proteſtants, when their brave behaviour and example will afford us more inſtruction, and the facts concerning them may be depended on with more certainty. And therefore I ſhall only before that time obſerve,

That George, ninth baron * of Fowlis, (in a direct lineal deſcent from the above Donald

* It is to be obſerved, 1ſt, That Baron in Scotlond does not import Nobility, as it does now in England: For, at the time the lands of Scotland were divided as above, there were then no nobility in that nation; but the great familie

the firſt baron), was ſlain at the memorable battle of Bannockburn, fought by King Robert Bruce of Scotland againſt King Edward II. of England, in the year 1314. George, tenth baron of Fowlis, and ſon of the former, was alſo ſlain, with a great many of his name, at the battle of Halydon Hill, near Berwick; in which battle the Scots were defeated by the Engliſh, and a great number of them killed, on the 22d of July, A. D. 1333. Robert Munro, ſeventeenth baron of Fowlis, was ſlain at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh, with many of his name, where the Scots were again defeated by the Engliſh, and a great number of them killed, A. D. 1547.—I mention the fall of theſe three gentlemen, with their friends and followers fighting valiantly in the cauſe of their country, as illuſtrating the va-

had their eſtates erected into baronies, with a juriſdiction over all the vaſſals, tenants, and poſſeſſors thereof; which was the origin and ſupport of the Clans in Scotland, theſe being the only military force in that kingdom, until, upon the union of the two crowns in the perſon of King James VI. of Scotland, regular troops were introduced into that kingdom.——To this I would add, 2dly, That the annals of this family contain a genealogical account of all the Barons of Fowlis, from the above Donald Munroe, to this preſent time. Several of theſe can only be tranſmitted to us by tradition: But as to thoſe whom I have mentioned, there is full evidence of the facts concerning them, from the old writs, charters, and deeds in the family of Fowlis; and even ſeveral others of them whom I have not mentioned, are taken notice of in theſe old writs.

lour and bravery of this family in their different generations, and ſhewing how juſtly they merited the character which Buchannan gives them in the place before cited. How long this brave ſpirit has continued, as it were, hereditary to them, will appear from what follows.

The firſt proteſtant of this family was Robert Munro, the eighteenth baron of Fowlis, ſon to Robert laſt mentioned, and the ſame who came to the aſſiſtance of Mary Queen of Scots upon the occaſion before cited, A. D. 1562. He embraced the Proteſtant religion quickly after: and being a wiſe and good man, he left an opulent eſtate to the family, and died A. D. 1588: He was ſucceeded by his ſon Robert Munro, nineteenth baron of Fowlis, who died the ſame year with his father. The next to him was his brother Hector Munro, twentieth baron of Fowlis, who died A. D. 1603. Robert Munro, his ſon, ſucceeded him, the twenty-firſt baron of Fowlis, who flouriſhed when Guſtavus Adolphus, that juſtly celebrated King of Sweden, (whoſe religion and valour were ſo diſtinguiſhed among his many religious and valiant cotemporaries), was engaged in a proteſtant war againſt the Emperor Ferdinand II. in defence of

the civil as well as ſacred liberties of Germany. The generous heart of this worthy gentleman was ſo ſtruck with a regard to the common cauſe, in which he himſelf had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Guſtavus with a very great number of his friends, who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of Robert their leader was ſo eminent, that he was made Colonel of two regiments at the ſame time, the one of horſe and the other of foot, in that ſervice; in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much fidelity and zeal, that he died of the wounds which he received in croſſing the Danube, and was buried at Ulme, in the month of March 1633.

He was ſucceeded by Sir Henry Munro, twenty-ſecond baron of Fowlis, the next male heir of the family *, who was alſo Colonel of a regiment in the ſame ſervice; and upon his coming over to Britain, was created a baronet in June 1633. Returning afterwards to Germany, he died at Hamburgh in April 1635. His ſon, Sir Hector Munro, was twenty-third

* It was formerly the cuſtom in Scotland, and is ſo ſtill among ancient families, to entail the ſucceſſion of their family eſtate to the neareſt male relation of the deceaſed, paſſing by the females, thereby to preſerve their eſtates in their own name and family.

baron of Fowlis, who died without iſſue in the year 1651, at ſeventeen years of age. Sir Robert Munro, twenty-fourth baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded as the neareſt male heir, being grandſon to George Munro of Obſdale, who was third ſon to Robert Munro, the eighteenth baron of Fowlis.

My information imports, that in the before mentioned annals of this family, there is a well atteſted liſt of officers, (of which I have a copy in the memorial laſt ſent me), wherein there are three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro; beſides a great number of ſubalterns. Moſt of theſe were in that religious war under the great Guſtavus Adolphus; and ſome of the deſcendants of this family are at this day in poſſeſſion of conſiderable military commands in Sweden, and various parts of Germany.

General Robert Munro (who was uncle to Sir Robert, the twenty-fourth baron of Fowlis) publiſhed, in the year 1644, an account of this religious war under Guſtavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, intituled, "Military diſcipline learned from the valiant Swede:" A book, of which (though I never happened to ſee it) I have heard a high character. I am informed that it contains an exact journal of

that expedition into Germany for the relief of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants; and it is ſaid to be filled with moſt excellent obſervations on military affairs, delivered in a ſtrain of piety which ſeems to breathe the ſpirit of its brave and worthy author. And indeed, by what I have heard of that inſtructive hiſtory, it is hard to ſay when there has been, even in the Chriſtian world, ſo religious and well diſciplined an army as this; at the head of which a myſterious providence permitted that royal hero and martyr, the great Guſtavus, to fall. Would to God the time might at length come, when our commanders ſhall take their leſſons from it; at leaſt ſo far as to learn from the example of ſome of the braveſt and greateſt of men, to maintain in the military bodies under their command the authority of the Lord of Hoſts; and particularly, that reverence for his name, and for his day, which was there ſo beautifully and gloriouſly conſpicuous!

This worthy General, in the year 1641, was appointed by King Charles I. major-general of the Scots forces that were ſent to Ireland to ſuppreſs the infamous and deſtructive rebellion there. It is not my buſineſs here to inſiſt on thoſe unhappy circumſtances which ſo long retarded their march, and ſo

greatly obſtructed their ſucceſs. I find, however, that he had at length the honour to be in the number of thoſe by whom God gave blood to drink to thoſe miſcreants, who had rendered themſelves ſo eminently worthy of it by a ſeries of outrages, which the moſt ſanguinary and deteſtable faction on earth (I mean that of Popery) has ſeldom been enabled to exceed. For, in the year 1644, this illuſtrious commander, at the head of 14,000 of the Scots and Engliſh proteſtants, fought and defeated 22,000 of the Iriſh in Ulſter, killed and took many thouſands of them, and ſeized on a great quantity of cattle and other proviſions, of which the Proteſtants were then in great want.

The General was a great favourer of the Preſbyterian intereſt, and among the firſt who eſtabliſhed it in Ireland. He ſat in their Preſbyteries and Synods, and adhered to the intereſt of the Parliament till he apprehended they were carrying matters to an exceſſive height againſt the king; on which he accepted of a commiſſion from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond; to which he was perſuaded by his nephew Sir George Munro, (of whom afterwards), who had always adhered to the intereſt of Charles I. as he afterwards did to that of Charles II.

In the year 1645, the General was ſurpriſed by Colonel Monk, before he could draw out his men from their quarters; and he and they were by that means taken priſoners: but he continued not long in their hands; for death came and ſet him at liberty ſoon after.

It is worthy of our notice by the way, that in the year 1644 we find Monk impriſoned by the parliament, for having accepted a commiſſion from the King, and acted in conſequence of it, though before that he had acted by commiſſion from the Parliament; And again, in the year 1648, we find him fighting for the Parliament againſt the King: And his ſurpriſing and taking General Munro was the firſt thing that brought him into favour with the Parliament. For in that reeling time, we find men of a much better character than Monk changing ſides again and again, as they apprehended the one party or the other to be in the right, from the many different demands, refuſals, and conceſſions, which then happened between them.

The General was ſucceeded in his command by Sir George Munro, brother to the laſt mentioned Sir Robert, and both of them nephews to General Robert by his brother Colonel John Munro of Obſdale, in the Swediſh ſer-

vice: Sir George was alſo bred in that ſervice with his uncle, and afterwards ſerved with him in Ireland, where he arrived to the rank of a Colonel. He was made Major-General by King Charles II. and had a body of forces under his command at Kendal, when James Duke of Hamilton was defeated by Cromwell at Lancaſter, A. D. 1648. Upon this defeat Sir George returned to Scotland and defeated the Earl of Argyle: and afterwards, his forces being diſbanded by order of the ſtates of Scotland, he went to Holland, and joined King Charles II.; after whoſe reſtoration he was made Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief in Scotland.

Sir John Munro, twenty-fifth baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded his father Sir Robert, A. D. 1668. He was a member of the Convention of the eſtates of Scotland at the revolution, and a very zealous promoter of that happy event. He was no leſs ſtrenuous in aſſerting Preſbytery, and, on that account, being alſo remarkable for a large and corpulent ſtature, he was nick-named the Preſbyterian mortar-piece. His eminent piety and zeal had expoſed him to great ſufferings in the cauſe of religion, in thoſe unhappy and infamous days, when the beſt friends to their country were

treated as the worſt enemies to the government; and when to be conſcientiouſly ſolicitous to depart from evil made ſo many thouſands a prey. Sir John ſuffered greatly among many others of whom the world was not worthy: His perſon was doomed to long impriſonment, for no pretended cauſe but what was found againſt him in the matters of his God: And his eſtate, which was before conſiderable, was harraſſed by ſevere fines and confiſcations, which reduced it to a diminution, much more honourable indeed than any augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered even to this day. He died A. D. 1696, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-ſixth baron of Fowlis, who ſucceeded his father, was alſo a pious and benevolent man, and for ſome time a Captain; but it pleaſed God early to deprive him of his ſight, and to continue him in that condition during the remainder of his life. Under this calamity, he calmly ſubmitted himſelf to that God, who can ſhed abroad a far more cheering light on the ſoul than theſe bodily eyes can admit. Providence was pleaſed to bleſs him with children, in whom he could not but find the higheſt ſatisfaction; and whoſe amiable characters in general leave no room to

doubt of the tenderneſs and reſpect with which they would treat ſo worthy a parent, under a diſtreſſing calamity, which would naturally move compaſſion even in ſtrangers. There were four of them who all reached maturity of age, and were the heirs of many bleſſings, though Providence ſuffered three of them to fall almoſt at once by moſt unjuſt and barbarous hands, Sir Robert, Captain George Munro, and the Doctor, whoſe Chriſtian name was Duncan: Their only ſiſter, married to Mr Gordon of Ardoch, ſtill ſurvives; an example of profound ſubmiſſion and fortitude, mingled with the moſt tender ſenſibility of temper.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-ſeventh baron of Fowlis, ſucceeded his father, A. D. 1729. He went early from the univerſity to the camp, where he ſerved ſeven years in Flanders, being ſome time Captain in the Royal Scots, before that fatal ceſſation of arms, A. D. 1712, as his late Majeſty with ſo much propriety publicly called it; to which therefore I ſhall not preſume to give either a milder or a ſeverer name. It was here that Sir Robert contracted that acquaintance and ſtrict friendſhip with good Colonel Gardiner, which ran through the remainder of their lives, and of which each was ſo worthy. On

Sir Robert's return from Flanders, he was reduced, on account of his inflexible oppoſition in Parliament (of which he was then a member) to the meaſures which the miniſtry were then taking to ſubvert the ſucceſſion in the preſent Royal Family, and with it, no doubt, the Proteſtant religion, of which that Family was and is under God the firmeſt barrier.

My correſpondent obſerves, concerning Sir Robert, "That he was noted for the countenance he gave to divine worſhip, both in public and in his family, and for the regard which he always expreſſed to the word of God, and its miniſters;" and then adds, "That he was ſincere in his friendſhip, and full of compaſſion even to the meaneſt of thoſe around him: And that he was remarkable, above moſt, for his activity in the diſcharge of any office of friendſhip, where he had profeſſed it, and for his great exactneſs in the performance of his promiſes."

His military ſervices are particularly worthy of being mentioned here. In the year 1715, he, with his clan, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland, kept the Earl of Seaforth, with 3000 men under his command, from joining the rebel camp at Perth, for near two months, and thereby prevented the Earl of Marr from

croſſing the Forth, till the Duke of Argyle had gathered ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe him. In conſequence of this Sir Robert expoſed his own country to the fierceſt reſentments of the rebels, by whom it was plundered and deſtroyed; while others, who yet pretended to be friends to the government, ſaved themſelves and their lands by capitulations with the enemy. Being then made Governor of Inverneſs, Sir Robert kept 400 of his name there, during the reſt of that rebellion, regularly paid and regimented: And theſe, together with ſome other clans, well-affected to the intereſt of the preſent Royal Family, kept poſſeſſion of that important paſs, whereby the rebels were hindered from making a ſtand there, when they were diſlodged from Perth by the Duke of Argyle.

He was, in the year 1716, made a commiſſioner of inquiry into the forfeited eſtates of the rebels; in which he ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in procuring a number of pariſhes to be erected through the rebel countries, and provided with ſuitable ſtipends out of the confiſcated lands; whereby the goſpel was preached in places where it had not been preached ſince the Reformation: So that ſome new preſbyteries were formed in countries where the diſcipline and worſhip of Proteſtant churches

had before no footing. And ſuch was the compaſſion and humanity which attempered his high courage, that by his intereſt with the government he did eminent ſervice to the unfortunate widows and children of ſuch as had, to the ruin of their families, been engaged in the rebellion.

Sir Robert was thirty years a member of Parliament by his family intereſt; during which time he always maintained the firmeſt attachment to the ſervice of his Majeſty and his Royal Father, and to the religion and liberties of his country. His fidelity and zeal for theſe did not need to be purchaſed, ſolicited, or quickened, by perſonal favours: It continued through all this period unſhaken and active, though, from the ending of his commiſſion of inquiry in 1724, till the year 1740, he had no poſt under the government. He then found the nation was to be involved in a foreign war, the neceſſity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged: And therefore, though his friends thought his merit and experience might have pretended to ſomething more, as he had been in the rank of a Lieutenant Colonel twenty-five years, his heart was too generous and too warm not to accept of the ſame commiſſion, which was then given him in the Highland regiment. This regiment,

when firſt formed out of independent Highland companies, was under the command of the Earl of Crawford as its Colonel, who, all the while he ſtood in that relation to it, was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer againſt the Turks. During this time Sir Robert Munro was his Lordſhip's Lieutenant-Colonel. Before it went to Flanders, Lord Semple was its Colonel; but he alſo being generally abſent, and Sir Robert an old experienced officer, the regiment during the war was left under his care, and the manner in which he modelled and conducted it will remain in many reſpects an immortal honour to his name.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a regiment, compoſed of Highlanders, who are generally uſed to ſo rapacious a life at home, ſhould yet by diſcipline have been brought to ſo good a behaviour, as that they ſhould be judged the moſt truſty guards of property; and that, when the people in Flanders were allowed a protection for their goods, they ſhould chuſe to have ſome of this regiment, among others of the Britiſh ſoldiers, appointed to protect them. This may indeed ſeem hardly credible;* yet my informer aſſures me, that he

* A very worthy perſon, to whoſe inſpection this Appendix has been committed ſince it was finiſhed, obſerves

had it from an officer of their own, of unqueſtionable credit; who added farther, that it was but ſeldom he had obſerved a man among them drunk, and as ſeldom heard any of them ſwear. This is very agreeable to the high character which I heard of this regiment from an Engliſh gentleman then in Flanders, whoſe veracity is undoubted, and who cannot, I am ſure, be ſuſpected of any prejudice here. And among Sir Robert's papers there is ſtill exiſting a copy of a letter from the Elector Palatine to his Envoy at London, deſiring him to thank the King of Great Britain, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the Highland regiment while they were in his territories, "which," as he ſays expreſsly, "was owing "to the care of Sir Robert Munro, their Lieu-"tenant Colonel, for whoſe ſake, (he adds), "he ſhould always pay a regard to a Scotch-"man for the future."

I the rather mention theſe particulars, not only as they do an honour to Sir Robert, and

here, That though the Highlanders are much addicted to depredations on their neighbours, yet the very actors even in them are generally as faithful to their truſt as any ſet of people whatever. And that if his officer ſhews but any degree of civility and kindneſs to one of theſe people, the fear of diſobliging him has a greater influence than that of ſtripes generally has on others of the common people. This remark I thought proper to inſert here, that the repreſentation of this affair might be as impartial as poſſible.

his worthy brother, through whoſe intereſt, and that of the other officers, with the private men, this great reformation was effected; but likewiſe as they ſeem to ſhew, in a very convincing manner, of how great importance it is, that ſome methods be ſeriouſly thought of for breaking the other uncultivated inhabitants of theſe countries into uſeful men, by bringing them at once under the protection and diſcipline of the laws, and inforcing their obedience to them, by teaching them the principles of religion, and the arts of peace and commerce. This is a happy effect, which, methinks, we may naturally hope for from the late rebellion, pernicious as it has in many reſpects been, conſidering how much it has reduced them to the power of the government, and how juſtly obnoxious it has made the chiefs of many fierce and barbarous clans.

According to my beſt information, from perſons who are moſt thoroughly acquainted with affairs in the North, the two great ſprings of rebellion amongſt the inhabitants of theſe Highland countries are, their idleneſs and their ignorance. The former ſubjects them to a ſlaviſh dependence on their maſters, and is alſo the cauſe of their being ſo addicted to ſtealing; and the latter makes them a prey to Popiſh prieſts and miſſionaries from Rome,

who are conſtantly, and in great numbers, trafficking among them. It has been very juſtly remarked, that the ſucceſs they have in ſeducing theſe poor ignorant people is occaſioned in a great meaſure by the vaſt extent of pariſhes in thoſe Highland countries; ſome of them being betwixt 30 and 40 miles in length, and 20 and 30 in breadth, full of great mountains, rapid rivers, and arms of the ſea; and thoſe pariſhes which are more moderate in their extent, are about 20 miles in length, and 10 or 12 in breadth: and it is every where to be obſerved through theſe pariſhes, that around the place of the miniſter's reſidence, the inhabitants are almoſt all Proteſtants, but in the corners which are remote from his reſidence, they are generally all Papiſts.

Now, it is evident that theſe poor people can only be cured of idleneſs, by teaching them manufactures, to which they are wholly ſtrangers. And it is hard to imagine how they can be reſcued from Popiſh ignorance, until there are ſeveral new pariſhes erected in thoſe extenſive countries. It would ill become me to pretend to direct the government of Britain on ſuch an occaſion; but I know it to be the opinion of many peaſons in thoſe parts, of diſtinguiſhed wiſdom and experience, that if it ſhould

be thought fit to employ the produce of the eſtates confiſcated by the late rebellion for theſe valuable purpoſes, this, with the thouſand pounds of his Majeſty's royal bounty annually beſtowed, would go a good way towards remedying theſe two great evils, with their train of miſerable conſequences which we have of late ſo deeply felt. And who would not rejoice to ſee all theſe poor people ſharing with us fully in all the privileges and advantages of Chriſtians and of Britons? I pray God to guide and proſper every ſcheme for this purpoſe! And in this connection, I cannot but mention and recommend the ſociety for propagating the knowledge of religion, and with it the principles of loyalty, in theſe Highland countries; a deſign, in which ſo many worthy perſons, both in the northern and ſouthern parts of our iſland, are incorporated. But their ſtock is by no means equal to the purpoſes here mentioned; and, by their conſtitution, they are confined to the ſupport of ſchools, which are indeed going on with great ſucceſs, as far as the revenue will allow them.

But to return from this natural, and therefore, I hope, very pardonable digreſſion, the behaviour of Sir Robert Munro, and this re-

giment, at the battle of Fontenoy, was heard through all Britain. He had obtained leave of his Royal Higneſs the Duke of Cumberland to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the French at the village from which the battle derives its name; which they did, and drove the enemy from it: But finding the body of the French forces deeply intrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. Sir Robert, according to the uſage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire; and inſtantly, as ſoon as it was diſcharged, they ſprung up, and coming cloſe to the enemy, poured in their ſhot upon them, to the certain deſtruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their own lines; then retreating, they drew up again, and attacked them a ſecond time after the ſame manner. Theſe attacks they repeated ſeveral times that day, to the ſurpriſe of the whole army.

Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithſtanding his great corpulency; and when in the trenches, he was hauled out again by the legs and arms by his own men.

And it is obſervable, that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himſelf alone, with the colours behind him, ſtood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this, becauſe, as he ſaid, though he could eaſily lie down, his great bulk would not ſuffer him to riſe ſo quickly.

His preſervation that day was the ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action; and my information relates, that a moſt eminent perſon in the army was heard to ſay upon the occaſion, "That it was e-"nough to convince one of the truth of the "doctrine of predeſtination, and to juſtify "what King William of glorious memory "had been uſed to ſay, that every bullet has "its billet, or its particular direction and "commiſſion where it ſhould lodge." It is added, that on the retreat of our army, the Highland regiment was in the rear, and a great body of the French horſe being ordered to purſue, Sir Robert made his regiment face about, and gave them a general fire, ſo full and effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the reſt wheeled about and rode off.

But to close what relates to Sir Robert Munro; as an acknowledgment for his brave services at Fontenoy, as well as on former occasions, his Majesty was pleased to appoint him to succeed General Ponsonby, who was slain there, in the command of his regiment, which was among the troops that arrived at Newcastle during the rebellion, and made a part of General Wade's army. They were afterwards ordered to Scotland; and being upon the left wing at the battle of Falkirk, on that fatal day, the 17th of January 1745-6, they shamefully left their brave Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel with five or six more of their officers, to be cut in pieces.

By the accounts which the rebels themselves give of Sir Robert, he defended himself against six of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number; upon which, a seventh came up, and, (as they expressed it), poured a shot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. In this dreadful moment, in the midst of all this extremity, his brother, Dr Munro, whom the warmest instances of his friends could not divert from exposing his person in defence of his country, and who was near at hand, ran to him to support him, at-

tended by his ſervant and the ſurgeon of the regiment; but they were all murdered on the ſpot, in the moſt barbarous manner, by thoſe cruel men.

Sir Robert's body was the next day ſought out; and his face was ſo cut and mangled by theſe ſavages after he fell, that it could ſcarce be known. He was found and buried honourably in the church-yard of Falkirk by the Macdonalds, who, though engaged in rebellion againſt their lawful Sovereign, could not but pay ſome public regard to the memory of ſo valiant a man, the principal perſons among the rebels attending him all the way to the grave.

And thus fell theſe two brave brothers, for the Doctor undoubtedly deſerves that title with Sir Robert, who, though profeſſing the peaceful art of medicine, adventured himſelf amidſt the moſt viſible danger, fired with love to his illuſtrious brother; and attempting in vain to bring him ſome aid in his laſt extremities, amidſt armed enemies, expired with him, no leſs lamented than he by all that intimately knew him. How juſt that lamentation was, will appear from the accounts which I have had of the Doctor's character from his moſt intimate friends, which I here ſubjoin.

He was a gentleman of an excellent underſtanding, and had a brightneſs and ſolidity in his genius, which are not often united; but which, when they concur, do greatly illuſtrate each other. He had been bred up to the ſtudy of medicine and ſurgery, which in Scotland are frequently joined, as they have ſo great an affinity. "He had a large ſtock of knowledge, "not only in his own profeſſion, but in moſt "parts of polite literature. But theſe (adds "my correſpondent) I hold cheap when com-"pared to the goodneſs of his heart. His great-"eſt ſtudy was to know himſelf; and I verily "believe, that ſince the early ages of Chriſtian-"ity, there has not appeared a more upright "perſon."

He ſpent a great many years in the Eaſt-Indies, and had moſt accurately and diligently inquired into the manners, cuſtoms, arts, and manufactures of the natives, and into the produce and commodities of the country: So that he was much more capable of giving entertainment to perſons of curioſity in ſuch things, than travellers commonly are; and his veracity was ſuch, that all who knew him could entirely depend upon whatever he reported as on his own knowledge. To all theſe advantages was added, a memory remarkably tenacious of every circumſtance with which he charged it: But

perhaps it was a loſs to the world that it was ſo, as it hindered him from committing many extraordinary things to writing, which might have afforded improvement as well as delight to the public.

The want of ſuch memoirs from ſo able an hand is the more to be regretted, as his remarkable modeſty did not permit him to talk much in company. One might ſpend a good deal of time with him, without perceiving by any hints from him that he had ever been out of Britain: But when his friends ſeemed deſirous of information on any of theſe topics, as they fell in his way, he communicated his obſervations upon them with the utmoſt freedom, and gave them the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable; of which ſome remarkable inſtances happened at the houſes of perſons of very conſiderable rank, who paid him that reſpect which he ſo well deſerved.

It was the more to be deſired that he ſhould have left behind him ſome written memoirs of his own remarks and adventures, as he was a moſt attentive obſerver of divine providence, and had experienced many ſingular inſtances of it. One is ſo remarkable, that it claims a place here, brief as theſe hints muſt neceſſarily be.——After he had continued eight or ten years in the Eaſt Indies, he was ſhipwrecked

on the Malabarian coaſt, as he was on his paſſage home: He ſaved his life on a plank, but loſt all his effects, except a ſmall parcel of diamonds. This ruinous calamity, as it ſeemed to be, obliged him to return to Fort St George, where he experienced, far beyond what he could have expected, the extraordinary friendſhip of ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen of that ſettlement; and felt the ſolid effects of it, as by their aſſiſtance he acquired much more in ſix or ſeven years following, (for his whole ſtay in that country was about ſixteen years); than he had loſt by ſhipwreck: And when he left the ſettlement, he had all ſort of encouragement offered him to induce him to ſtay; but his health and other circumſtances obliged him to return home.

This return (which happened, if I miſtake not, about the year 1726) was a happy providence to many: for as he was remarkably ſucceſsful in both the branches of his peculiar profeſſion, he took great pains in both: And as he did this without fee or reward, when he was ſatisfied the circumſtances of the afflicted needed ſuch aſſiſtance, he was an inſtrument of ſaving many limbs and many lives, which muſt otherwiſe in all probability have been loſt.

To this account I muſt beſt leave to add what another of my correſpondents writes to me concerning the Doctor, in the following words: "As we were often by ourſelves, I "ſtill found him inclined to turn our diſ-"courſe to ſpiritual ſubjects, concerning God "and religion, the offices of the great Re-"deemer, and the power of God's Spirit in "converting and ſanctifying the ſouls of men, "and the hope of eternal life through Chriſt." I tranſcribe the paſſage thus particularly concerning this pious phyſician, as I eſteem it, in one view, a peculiar honour to him, and permit me to ſay, in another, to the profeſſion itſelf: Bleſſed be God, that though it is ſo rare a caſe, yet there are thoſe of that learned body, who are not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt; but who, knowing it to be true on inconteſtable evidence, and having felt (what one would imagine every rational creature who believes it to be true, muſt immediately ſee,) its infinite importance, have ſteadily determined to ſubmit to its influence, and to maintain its honours in the midſt of all the ſcorn and deriſion of their infidel brethren; a determination, which requires no leſs courage, eſpecially in ſome tempers, than that generous inſtance of fraternal love which will

entail ſuch laſting glory on the memory of Doctor Munro.

There yet remained one valiant brother of this family, whom providence reſerved for a few months, before he ſhared the fate of the other two. The perſon I mean was Captain George Munro of Culcairn, Eſq; of whom I have conceived ſuch an idea from the account of him which has been put into my hands, that I cannot forbear wiſhing the world were bleſſed with a much larger narrative of his life aud character than my inſtructions will furniſh out, or than I ſhould have room to inſert in ſuch an Appendix as this. Much do I regret, that providence never favoured me with an opportunity of being perſonally acquainted with him, eſpecially as I have reaſon to believe, from what my friends in the north write, that he had the like diſpoſition towards forming a friendſhip with me, as produced ſo quick a growth of it in the breaſt of Colonel Gardiner, whom, on the whole, Captain Munro ſeems to have reſembled almoſt in every part of his character, taking it as it was ſince that happy change which I have ſo largely deſcribed in the foregoing memoirs: But what was wanting in my perſonal knowledge is ſupplied by a large and animated ac-

count from my correſpondents, who had the beſt opportunity of knowing him, and upon whoſe information I can ſafely depend.

Captain George Munro was the ſecond brother of the family, the Doctor being the youngeſt ſon. He, like the other gentlemen, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and ſoon diſcovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. Beſides the other branches of literature, common to all the profeſſions, he acquired a ſtock of theological knowledge; and before he was ſeveenteen years old, he was well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, ſo as to be able to give a good account of the advance and decline of the Chriſtian intereſt in various ages and countries, and the degrees and manner by which the corruption and reformation of the church had been introduced, eſtabliſhed, or obſtructed. I the rather mention this, as it ſeems to be an accompliſhment of great importance; on which account, I much wonder, that the generality of young gentlemen ſhould think it ſo little worth attending to: And I wiſh I could ſay, that all who are intended for the miniſtry were ſo careful in purſuing it, as its uſefulneſs and its abſolute neceſſity to them might demand.

But his taſte and talents particularly lay for a military life; and in the year 1715, he behaved himſelf with great courage and activity during the whole courſe of that rebellion; and after the diſperſion of the rebels, he was employed in reducing the inhabitants of thoſe Highland countries, and the adjacent iſles, to a ſubmiſſion to the government,

In the year 1719, when, on occaſion of the invaſion from Spain, General Wightman, with the troops under his command, had waited long at Inverneſs for a body of Highlandmen to conduct the troops through the mountains to Glenſhiel, where the Spaniards and rebels were encamped, and when many promiſes of ſuch aſſiſtance made to the general had failed, Sir Robert Munro being then out of the country, his brother the Captain (of whom we now ſpeak) aſſembled, in a moſt expeditious manner, a body of the Munro clan, and marched with the regular troops to Glenſhiel, where they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the gallantry of their behaviour, driving the enemy before them in a ſharp action, in which many of them were killed, and more wounded; and among the reſt the Captain himſelf in a very dangerous manner. He had, however, the ſatisfaction to ſee theſe foreign invaders, and

their rebel abbettors, totally routed and diſperſed on the Pretender's birth day, June 10. And though his conſtitution ſuffered much by the loſs of his blood on this occaſion, yet it pleaſed God to recover him for further ſervice to his country.

As he ſtill continued vigorous and active in the ſervice of the government, he obtained the command of one of the independent companies then in the national pay: And when they were afterwards regimented and ſent to Flanders, he attended them thither, and continued in the public ſervice till the year 1744, when he became ſo exceedingly aſthmatic that he could not breathe in the Flanders air: On which General Wade not only allowed him to ſell his commiſſion, but, out of compaſſion to his diſtreſs, joined his brother Sir Robert in obliging him to do it, and to return home; to which at length he ſubmitted, though not without regret; and thereupon returned to his domeſtic ſeat at Newton in Roſs-ſhire, in the views of ſpending his days with his family and friends in a peaceful retreat. But Providence determined otherwiſe, and had reſerved for him ſome farther labours of a military life, in which it had appointed him glorioufly to toil and fall, after ſervices which might

have done an honour to his moſt vigorous and active days.

The late wicked and unnatural rebellion broke out ſoon after his arrival; and the danger of his country and its religious and civil conſtitution gave him at once a new ſtock of life and ſpirits.

When General Cope came to Inverneſs, and had been aſſured of being joined by a number of Highlanders to conduct him and his ſmall army through the rebel countries between that town and Aberdeen, Captain Munro, with 200 of his brother's clan, were indeed the only perſons that were found willing to perform the promiſes that were made by ſeveral others. He marched with the General directly to Aberdeen, from whence he was ordered to return home: In which return he was under a neceſſity of marching through a great number of the rebels under the Command of Gordon of Glenbucket, who lay on the road to attack the Captain and his party; but Glenbucket finding that the Captain was determined to diſpute every inch of ground with him, retired, and allowed him to proceed without diſturbance to Inverneſs.

Not long after that, the Earl of Loudon ſent Captain Munro, in conjunction with the

Laird of Macleod, with a body of men, to relieve the city of Aberdeen, and the neighbouring country, then greatly oppreſſed by the outrages committed upon them by Lord Lewis Gordon and the rebels under his command. Accordingly the Captain and Macleod proceeded as far as Inverury, a ſmall town a few miles weſt of Aberdeen, where they halted to receive intelligence; and from the narrowneſs of the place, they were obliged to quarter a great number of their men in diſtant places through the adjacent country. In the mean time, a conſiderable reinforcement from the main body of the rebel army, which then lay at Perth, was ſent under the command of a French officer, ſupported by their picquets and Iriſh brigades; by the aſſiſtance of which, Lord Lewis attempted to ſurpriſe and cut off the Captain and his whole party. In this view they were removing towards Inverury, in the duſk of the evening, after Captain Munro and Macleod had ſent their men through the country to their quarters: but though there was not ſuch good intelligence provided as might have been wiſhed, they were providentially diſcovered at ſuch a diſtance, that Capt. Munro and the Laird of Macleod had time to draw up the men they had in the town of Inverury, in ſo regular a manner, that, in conſe-

quence of it, they gave the enemy ſuch a warm reception, attacking them at once in the front and flank, that many of them were left dead in the field. The brave Captain and his aſſociate continued very ſedate, intrepid, and active, during the heat of the ſkirmiſh, till at laſt being overpowered by far ſuperior numbers, they thought it adviſeable to retire, and brought off their party ſafe and in good order, excepting ſome few who had been killed or taken priſoners. Among the latter was Mr Adam Gordon of Ardoch, nephew to Captain Munro, who was ſeized by the rebels, and treated with a deal of rigour and ſeverity for a conſiderable time, while detained in their power. But they did not preſume to purſue the reſt; and the young gentleman at length made his eſcape, to the great joy of the family, being, I hope, reſerved by Providence to tread in the ſteps of his heroic uncles, and to bleſs his country with ſome conſiderable future ſervices.

Upon the retreat of the rebels northward before his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, the Earl of Loudon had not ſufficient ſtrength to maintain his poſſeſſion of Inverneſs againſt them; whereupon he, with the Lord Preſident and Captain Munro, re-

treated to the ſhire of Sutherland, propoſing to defend themſelves there until the ſeaſon allowed his Royal Highneſs to march the troops to Inverneſs. But in this interval, the rebels having ſpread themſelves through the ſhires of Inverneſs, Murray, and Roſs, they got poſſeſſion of a great many boats; by the help of which they tranſported a great part of their body to the Sutherland coaſt, under the covert of a very thick fog: Upon which, the Earl of Loudon, with the Lord Preſident and the Captain, were obliged to retreat through the weſtern parts of Roſs into the iſle of Sky, where they continued until the rebel army was broke and diſperſed at the battle of Culloden.

I have been the more particular in this narrative of the Captain's conduct during the rebellion, as it gives ſome light into the ſituation and tranſactions of the friends of our conſtitution in thoſe parts at that time: And my information aſſures me, that the facts are taken from perſons of undoubted veracity who were preſent with the Captain in his march to Aberdeen with General Cope, and in his return from it; and who were with him in the ſkirmiſh at Inverury, and were afterwards witneſſes of his death.

Upon his return from the iſle of Sky, he was conſtantly employed in expeditions through the rebel countries of great extent, to reduce them to a ſubmiſſion to the government, which he performed with diligence and zeal, but ſtill with the greateſt humanity. This the rebels themſelves muſt acknowledge, as he never did the leaſt injury to any man; and in all that vaſt circuit which he made through theſe diſtant countries, he neither himſelf ſeized, nor allowed thoſe under his command to ſeize any thing but arms; and yet, notwithſtanding all this humanity, his diligence and zeal had been ſuch in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage and revenge of the rebels, who had vowed his deſtruction upon the firſt opportunity; and becauſe they had not courage to face him, they had recourſe to the baſe method of aſſaſſination, which was effected on the Lord's day, the 31ſt of Auguſt 1746. He was then on a long and neceſſary march at the head of 500 men, on the ſide of Locharkey, amongſt the wild rocks of Lochaber, where, as he was paſſing by the ſide of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was ſhot dead by a villain who concealed himſelf behind the trees and rocks in the wood, and who, by the advantages of

that ſituation, got off without being diſcovered, and has never ſince been found out: An event to the Captain, no doubt, moſt happy, and a bleſſed kind of inſtantaneous tranſlation to the regions of endleſs peace and triumphant joy; but to all who loved the public, not to be mentioned without the tendereſt ſenſibility and deepeſt regret.

One of my correſpondents on this occaſion concludes his account of the deaths of Sir Robert, the Doctor, and the Captain, in theſe words: "Thus died theſe three worthy men, to the ir-"reparable loſs of the country in which they "lived, all of them remarkable for a brave ſpi-"rit, full of love to their native land, and of "diſintereſted zeal for religion and liberty; "faithful in their promiſes, ſtedfaſt in their "friendſhip, abundant in their charity to the "poor and diſtreſſed; moderate in their reſent-"ments, and eaſy to be reconciled; and eſpe-"cially, remarkable for their great and entire "love to each other; ſo that one ſoul ſeemed, "as it were, to actuate all the three *." To

* The intimacy of their friendſhip, though chiefly founded on a ſimilarity of character, might perhaps be further promoted, by their being ſo nearly of the ſame age; for Sir Robert was born Auguſt 24, 1684; the Captain, September 18, 1685; and the Doctor, September 19, 1687. Sir Robert therefore was ſlain in his ſixty-ſecond year; the Captain in his ſixty-firſt, and the Doctor in his fifty-ninth

which it might have been added, bleſſed with a ſiſter, not unworthy to make a fourth perſon in ſuch a friendſhip.

My other correſpondent, in his character of the Captain, ſpeaks in this manner: "The "great foundation of all his other virtues was "laid in a moſt ſincere and ſtedfaſt regard to "the Supreme Being. He carefully ſtudied "the great doctrines of our holy religion, "which he courageouſly profeſſed, and, as it "was requiſite, defended, in whatever compa-"ny he might be caſt: He did this with the "greater freedom, as his practice was always "agreeable to it; and in particular, his regard, "both to the book and to the day of God. "He had from his infancy been trained up in "an acquaintance with the Scripture, and he "daily peruſed it with pleaſure, and doubtleſs "with advantage. And though the natural "cheerfulneſs of his temper inclined him on "other days to facetious turns in converſation, "yet on the Sabbath he was not only grave "and devout, but carefully attentive that all "his ſpeech might tend to edification, and as "far as poſſible miniſter grace to the hearers. "He was exemplary in the ſocial virtues, tem-"perate in the uſe of food and ſleep, and roſe "early for devotion, (wherein, as in many other

" reſpects, he remarkably reſembled his be-
" loved friend Colonel Gardiner). He was
" alſo thoroughly ſenſible how much a faith-
" ful diſcharge of relative duties is eſſential
" to the character of a Chriſtian. He appro-
" ved himſelf therefore as a brave and vigi-
" lant officer, a moſt active and faithful ſer-
" vant of the crown, and a true patriot to
" his country in the worſt of times; and in
" domeſtic life was exemplary as a huſband,
" a father, and a maſter. He was a moſt af-
" fectionate brother, a faithful friend, a con-
" ſtant benefactor, and a ſure patron of the
" oppreſſed; and, to crown all, was at laſt, in
" effect, a martyr in the cauſe of that religion
" he had ſo eminently adorned, and of thoſe
" liberties he had ſo long and ſo bravely de-
" fended."

It muſt give a ſenſible pleaſure to every reader, who enters into theſe things with a becoming ſpirit, to reflect, That notwithſtanding theſe unparallelled and irreparable loſſes, this family, which has been long celebrated for ſo many worthy branches, is not yet extinct; but that both Sir Robert Munro and the Captain have left thoſe behind them, who may not only bear up the name, but if they anſwer the hopes which in the opening

of life they give to their country, may add new honours to it.

I hope the reader will not lay down this narrative, which is now brought to a cloſe, without deriving ſome uſeful leſſons from the remarkable train of providence, which this Appendix, as well as the preceding Memoirs, offer to his obſervation. And the more he enters into theſe leſſons, the more will he be diſpoſed to lift up his wiſhes and prayers to God for thoſe valuable remains, both of Sir Robert Munro's and of Colonel Gardiner's family, which may yet be within the reach of ſuch addreſſes; that God may graciouſly ſupport them in their ſorrows, and that all the virtues and graces of the illuſtrious dead may live in them, and in their remoteſt poſterity. Amen!

THE END.

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